Times Mirror
Center for
The People &
The Press

NEWS

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Washington, D.C. 20006
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FOR RELEASE: TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1991, A.M.

The People, The Press & Politics
November 1991

A Year Before The Election

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BUSH AND DEMS IN TOSS UP

A Democratic candidate for president might run a dead heat with President George Bush if the election were held today, according to a just completed public opinion survey by the ***Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press***. Forty-three per cent of respondents to a nationwide poll on American political and social values said they would prefer a Democrat in the White House while 41 percent would stick with President Bush. The question was asked with no specific Democrat named as the party nominee.

This is the first time that Bush's re-election prospects appear directly threatened by the public's mounting unease at the country's economic prospects and the order of the Bush administration's priorities. Although the president's job approval rating is still high by historic standards it has been in steady decline since March of this year when it peaked at 84 percent. Until this most recent survey, his position as an invulnerable electoral target has been virtually unchallenged. Since his 1988 election, Mr. Bush has been favored for re-election by double digit numbers, reaching a staggering 50 percent margin over "the Democratic candidate" in the immediate aftermath of the Gulf War.

Governor Mario Cuomo is preferred as the Democratic standard bearer by 30 percent among Democrats and those who lean toward the Democratic Party. Former Governor Jerry Brown of California is in second place with 18 percent, followed by Bill Clinton, the Democratic Governor of Arkansas with 9 percent. The other candidates in the Democratic field are bunched together with Virginia Gov. Douglas Wilder at 8 percent, Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa (6 percent), Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska (5 percent), and former Senator Paul Tsongas with 4 percent.

In a trial heat with Cuomo, Bush wins by an impressive margin of 58 to 37 percent. It must be noted, however, that although Cuomo has an unusually high (70%) favorability rating, fully 30 percent of the public says they don't know enough about him to have formed an opinion.

The dramatic decline in President Bush's standing as a candidate for re-election came at the same time as his job approval rating fell to 55 percent, a six point drop from the 61 percent approval he held as recently as October 6. But President Bush's position via Democratic presidential prospects reveal significant generational differences and a sharp division among economic classes. Among voters under 30, Bush edges the Democrat 44% to 42%. Voters age 30 to 50 are evenly split (Bush 41 - Democrat 42). But among voters over 50 years of age the Democrats hold a 7 point margin (45 to 38).

Among Americans earning $50,000 a year or more, Mr. Bush is favored over the Democratic candidate by a substantial fifteen point margin (Bush 53 percent vs.

Democrat 38 percent). The plurality is reversed among people earning less than $50,000 a year (Democrats 44 percent vs. Bush 38 percent).

The current survey reveals a public increasingly uneasy about the country's position and its own immediate prospects. Only 34 percent of respondents told Times Mirror's interviewers that they are "satisfied with the way things are going in the United States at this time." This public satisfaction with "the state of the nation" is at its lowest level since Times Mirror began recording it in 1986. In October of 1988, at the height of the Bush-Dukakis campaign, public satisfaction stood at 56 percent. The much higher level of discontent with the state of the nation in November of 1991 is reflected in this Times Mirror survey by the fear of two out of every five Americans (39 percent) that a family member will become unemployed at the same time that 27 percent think that "***chances are high***" that an adult member of the family will be" out of a job and actively looking for work."

The public, despite that level of concern for members of their individual families, is even more uneasy about the prospects for inflation. Fifty-two percent say that fear of increased prices is even more troubling than the prospect of unemployment.

Worry about potential price increases comes at a time when one third of the American public tells us that they have most difficulty in paying for the cost of health care (31 percent). Housing is second on the list of difficult expenses to meet with 19 percent of respondents saying it's their number one economic problem.

Among the Times Mirror survey's more significant findings is a strong affirmation that foreign policy concerns are at the very lowest rungs of the issues ladder. Asked to rank in order of priority the top eight political and social concerns that the president should deal with, the public placed reducing unemployment (25%) at the top of the list, closely followed by improving the quality of education (22%) and improving health care (18%). The reform of the banking and financial industry was in fourth place (12%) followed by the need to improve the environment (8%). Not a single foreign policy issue was cited by more than five percent of the public as one of the top priorities for the presidential agenda. Making sure that Iraq doesn't get nuclear weapons (5%) and achieving a lasting peace in the Middle East (4%) were followed by those who think it most important to "help the Russians to convert to a market economy (2%)."

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among a nationally representative sample of 2,020 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period of October 31 - November 10, 1991. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points.

For the questions that measured preferences for the presidential election the sample was divided into two random halves. 1,010 respondents were asked to choose between George Bush and an unnamed Democrat, while the other half sample was asked to choose between George Bush and Mario Cuomo. The sampling error for results of each question is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

The results of the Democratic nomination question is based upon 868 interviews with Democrats and Independents who say they lean to the Democratic party. The margin of sampling error for these results is plus or minus 4 percentage points

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
POLITICAL SURVEY I
OCTOBER 31 - NOVEMBER 10, 1991
N = 2,020

SEX: 1[ ]Male 2[ ]Female

INTERVIEWER'S NAME:________________

TIME STARTED:______________

INTERVIEWER'S I.D.:________________

TIME FINISHED:______________

PAGE NUMBER:________________________

LENGTH:____________________

REPLICATE NUMBER:___________________

REGION:
1 East
2 Midwest
3 South
4 West

STRATUM:
1 Stratum One
2 Stratum Two
3 Remainder

DATE:

INTRODUCTION: Hello, We are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

My first question is...

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

		NEWS INTEREST INDEX					
		Oct 1991	July 1991	May 1991	March 1991	Jan 25 1991	Jan 3 1991
55	Approve	61	67	77	84	79	59
33	Disapprove	28	23	16	10	14	24
12	Don't know	10	10	7	6	7	17
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.2 I am going to read to you the names of some possible candidates for the Democratic nomination for President. After I read all the names would you tell me which one you would most like to see nominated as the Democratic party's candidate for President? **(ROTATE LIST)**

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '8' JACKSON TO Q.2 ASK:
Q.2a And who would be your second choice?

IF ANSWERED '9' OTHER OR '10' DON'T KNOW IN Q.2 ASK:
Q.3 Well as of today, to whom do you most lean? (REREAD LIST)

[1]**BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND LEANERS**

4	Former Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas
8	Virginia Governor Douglas Wilder
5	Nebraska Senator Robert Kerrey
6	Iowa Senator Tom Harkin
30	New York Governor Mario Cuomo
18	Former California Governor Jerry Brown
9	Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton
0	District of Columbia Senate Representative Jesse Jackson
2	Other
25	Don't know

FORM 1
Q.4 Would you like to see George Bush re-elected President in 1992 or would you prefer that a Democratic candidate win the election?

	Total Respondents	Registered Voters
Bush re-elected	41	41
Prefer Democrat	43	44
Not sure	16	15
	100	100

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[1] Jackson preferences redistributed on the basis of second choices.

FORM 2

Q.5 Suppose the 1992 Presidential election were being held today. If George Bush was the Republican candidate and New York Governor Mario Cuomo were the Democratic candidate who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q.5 ASK:

Q.5a As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican or do you lean more to Mario Cuomo the Democrat?

	Total Respondents	Registered Voters
Bush with leaners	58	57
Cuomo with leaners	37	39
Other/Undecided	5	4
	100	100

Q.6 In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the U.S. at this time?

		May 1990	Jan. 1989	Oct. 1988	May 1988	Jan. 1988
34	Satisfied	41	45	56	41	39
61	Dissatisfied	54	50	40	54	55
5	Don't know	5	5	4	5	6
100		100	100	100	100	100

Q.6a As I read from a list, tell me which ONE of the following eight items is the most important thing for the President to do in the future?

Q.6b Which should be the President's second highest priority? **(REREAD LIST)**

	Reduce unemployment
25	Highest
20	Second
	Improve the quality of education
22	Highest
16	Second
	Improve healthcare
18	Highest
20	Second
	Reform the U.S. banking and financial industry
12	Highest
14	Second
	Improve the environment
8	Highest
10	Second
	Make sure that Iraq does not get nuclear weapons
5	Highest
6	Second
	Achieve a lasting peace in the Mideast
4	Highest
5	Second
	Help the Russians convert to a market economy
2	Highest
3	Second

Q.8a What do you personally worry about more -- that prices will go up, or that you or a family member will become unemployed?

52	Prices
39	Unemployment
7	Neither **(VOL)**
2	Don't know **(VOL)**
100	

Q.9 Do you think the chances are high, low or almost zero that some time in the next 12 months an adult in your family will be out of work and actively looking for a job?

27	High
28	Low
30	Almost zero
5	Someone out of work now **(VOL)**
6	Retired **(VOL)**
4	Don't know/No answer
100	

Q.10 Which one of the following do you have the most difficulty affording? **(DON'T ROTATE)**

19	The cost of housing
9	The cost of an automobile
11	The cost of food, clothing and other regular expenses
31	The cost of health care
7	The cost of retirement or,
18	The cost of a college education
4	None **(VOL)**
1	Don't know **(VOL)**
100	

C8715-4.4-1

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FOR RELEASE: WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1991, A.M.

The People, The Press & Politics

On The Eve of '92:

Fault Lines In The Electorate

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SUMMARY

Ask the American public what's on its mind and it can't stop talking about the economy and the sad shape it's in. Ask the American public what event has most shaped its political thinking and it says the Gulf War. At least in part, the outcome of this push-pull will determine if the Democrats have a chance to take the White House away from George Bush next year.

Dissatisfaction with the way things are going in the country has now reached pre Reagan economic recovery levels with over six in ten expressing fundamental discontent with the country's course. Yet the President's rating at 55% approve, 33% disapprove is at least as good if not better than that of recent GOP predecessors who went on to win big second term victories. In November of 1971, Nixon's approval/disapproval score in the Gallup Poll was 49% to 37% and in November 1983, Reagan's was 53% to 37%.

Analysis of the Times Mirror survey illustrates the extent to which feelings about the Gulf War shelter the President's approval ratings from discontent with the nation's course. Fifty percent of those dissatisfied with the state of the nation continue to approve of Bush's performance, providing they feel that the ***"Gulf War showed that the country can still unite to accomplish things"***. But those with doubts about what the Gulf War proved ***and*** with serious reservations about the state of the nation, are nearly 20 percentage points less likely to approve of George Bush (31%).

George Bush's desert shield is most effective with younger voters and Republicans who are dissatisfied with the state of the nation - these groups continue to give the President strong approval ratings, even though many express dissatisfaction with the state of the nation. Indeed, the survey shows that generational differences and growing disquiet among Republicans themselves may be two of the more important elements in the coming campaign.

Compared to the generations born after WWII, people 50 years of age and older stand out in the latest Times Mirror survey as angrier, as having grown more disillusioned with the political system, and as more disposed to vote for change than people under 50 years of age.

People 50 years of age and older less often say they are financially better off than they were four years ago (26% vs. 43% among 30-49 year olds and 55% among under 30's). Older people judge the condition of the country more harshly than do the young - only 25% of the 50 & olders are satisfied with the way things are going, compared to 44% among those under 30 years of age.

Times Mirror's trend measures on political alienation reveal that since 1987 skepticism with the political system has grown more among older people than among the young. Overall the percentage of Americans who think that government is run for the benefit of the people has fallen from 57% to 48%. and the percentage who feel that politicians care what people think declined from 47% to 36%. Both trends are more extreme among older people than among those under 50 years of age.

An important element in the heightened political discontent of older people is they are a generation that follows what's going on closely and votes at very high rates. Unlike other alienated groups, older people are not likely to stay away from the polls because they are disillusioned with politics. Instead they seem to be leading the anti-incumbency charge. Nearly half (48%) think the political system needs a major shake-up rather than just a few new leaders, while only little more than a third of young voters feel this way.

In 1987 two in three agreed with the statement "it's time for Washington officials to step aside and make room for new leaders. In the current poll 81% concurred (compared to 73% among younger people). Similarly, support for term limits reaches a high of 85% among the fifty and over generation.

As older people lead the young in their animus toward the political system, they also express more concern about two other issues that have become key elements in the populist agenda, protection from healthcare costs and protection of American jobs. Americans have the most difficulty affording healthcare and the cost concerns of older people are focused in this area. Thirty-one percent of the public cite healthcare as the cost most difficult to afford and that figure increases to 45% among older people. Over eight in ten agreed that the government should guarantee everyone is covered by health insurance and as many as 53% completely agreed with this concept.

Over eight in ten also agree that American jobs should be protected from foreign competition. Again the views of older people are more intense than those of younger people. Six in ten of 50 & olders completely agree, compared to five in ten among younger Americans.

Republicans themselves are not untouched by the rising tide of resentment about conditions in the country and calls for a more activist government to deal with these problems. When George Bush took office, 64% of Republicans were satisfied with the way things were going in the country. The current survey finds just 48% of GOP identifiers contented. This is in fact a larger decline than is found for Democrats or Independents over the course of the Bush term.

Populist Republicans, identified as Moralists in the Times Mirror Typology, show the most discontent with the country's course, the most desire for government action, and some second thoughts about George Bush. In contrast, pro-business, fiscally conservative, Enterpriser Republicans show more loyalty to the President, more contentment with the status quo and less enthusiasm for many of the programs and polices favored by their less affluent GOP brethren.

Over eight in ten Moralists who are drawn to the GOP because of their conservatism on social issues agree the government should play an active role in improving healthcare housing and education for middle income families and as many as 48% completely agree with this idea. In contrast just 30% of Enterpriser Republicans completely agree.

Enterprisers stand apart from other Republicans and the public at large in that a 58% majority of them continue to see themselves as better off today than they were four years ago. The public at large divides fairly evenly on this famous question that Ronald Reagan used so effectively against Jimmy Carter - 40% say better off, 43% say worse off. A significant number of Republicans and Independent-leaning Republicans feel they have been financially set back over the past four years. Fully 58% of Dissaffecteds see themselves as worse off today. (Disaffecteds, who are the modern day equivalents of Wallace voters have given wavering support to both George Bush and Ronald Reagan).

The findings of the survey suggest that the potential for division within the ranks of the Republican party along socioeconomic lines are very strong. Republican groups differ in their enthusiasm for protectionism, government guaranteed health insurance and even fundamental financial priorities. For example, a majority of Enterpriser Republicans (50%) want to see the peace dividend used to help reduce the budget deficit, rather than to use it for domestic spending (35%) or even a tax cut (14%). Among Moralists a 49% plurality want the peace dividend to go for domestic spending and among Disaffecteds, 72% favor this option.

Some Republican disloyalty plays a role in how well ***"a nameless Democrat"*** tests against George Bush. Bush only gets the support of 79% of Republicans on this measure. However, this disloyalty is focused among Moralists - just 72% say they would like to see Bush beat a Democrat next November. Among Enterprisers 85% are loyal to the President. Similarly, Independent groups that lean to the Republican party also show a substantial inclination to consider a Democratic alternative. In particular Disaffecteds, who played a pivotal role in 1988 when they deserted Michael Dukakis for George Bush, were evenly divided between Bush and the nameless Democrat (34% favored Bush and 38% the nameless Democrat).

As they have been in the past, Democratic candidates could be key to uniting the diverse interests within the GOP coalition. When Bush was tested against Cuomo in this survey, Republican support for Bush went up to the customary 90% level. (Bush was favored by 89% of the Moralists when pitted against the New York Governor and by 53% of the Disaffecteds).

Bush's overseas triumphs are another basis for rallying Republicans and other groups of voters with GOP inclinations. Eighty-four percent of the public at large agreed that the war in the Gulf showed that the US can still unite to accomplish things and 56% agreed that Bush/Reagan policies helped speed the fall of Communism. The survey found equal levels of assent to these ideas among all varieties of Republicans.

Wavering support for Bush's re-election among young people might also be shored up by Gulf War themes. The survey indicates that younger voters, who continue to approve of the President at higher rates than older people, were more influenced by the Gulf War and credited Bush and Reagan more for the fall of communism.

Other Findings...

* Female candidates may fare better in 1992 than ever before. Six in ten say the country would be better off, if more women were elected to Congress. Results of this direct question were reinforced by the findings of a small experiment conducted as part of the survey. Using a split sample voter appeals for three hypothetical candidates were tested. In half the cases the hypothetical candidate was identified as a female and in half a male. In all three tests the female hypothetical candidate tested significantly better than the male ... among both men and women.

* Opinion of the women's movement has improved since the mid-1980's mostly as a result of changing opinions of women. Unfavorable opinion of the women's movement among women has decreased from 31% to 22% since 1985.

* Dan Quayle's favorability ratings are unchanged since Times Mirror's 1990 rating. Quayle gets about the same favorable to unfavorable ratio as Jerry Brown. Other Democratic aspirants get higher favorability scores among people who know them.

* Despite the war in the Gulf, the country remains as divided as it was in 1987 and 1990 over whether military strength is the best way to ensure peace.

* Compared to 1987, today more whites agree (41% vs 25%) that the position of balcks has not improved in recent years.

THE MOOD OF AMERICA

Public discontent with the state of the nation has not been as great as it is today since pre-Reagan economic recovery days. August of 1983 was the last time opinion surveys found as many as six in ten Americans dissatisfied with the way things were going in the country. To put this finding in perspective, however, there has been widespread public contentment with the state of the nation for only short periods of time over the past decade - in the early part of Reagan's second term before Iran-Contra, prior to Bush's election in the fall of 1988, and just after victory in the Gulf.

OUTLOOK TOWARD THE NATION

	Satisfied	***Dissatisfied***	***No Opinion***	***Total***
1991				
November	34%	61	5	= 100%
[1] Late February	66%	31	3	= 100%
1990				
May	41%	54	5	= 100%
1989				
January	45%	50	5	= 100%
1988				
September/October	56%	40	4	= 100%
January	39%	55	6	= 100%
1987				
August/September	45%	49	6	= 100%
[1]***1986***				
September	58%	38	4	= 100%
March	66%	30	4	= 100%
[1]***1985***				
November	51%	46	3	= 100%
[1]***1984***				
December	52%	40	8	= 100%
February	50%	46	4	= 100%
[1]***1983***				
August	35%	59	6	= 100%
[1]***1982***				
November	24%	72	4	= 100%
[1]***1981***				
December	27%	67	6	= 100%
January	17%	78	5	= 100%

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[1] All surveys are Gallup Polls.

	Satisfied	*Dissatisfied*	*No Opinion*	*Total*
[1]*1979*				
November	19%	77	4	= 100%
August	12%	84	4	= 100%

Question 2: In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the U.S. at this time?

The growth in public discontent with the state of the nation over the course of the Bush administration is apparent among all political and demographic groupings, but in relative terms the greatest increases in discontent have occurred among Republicans and demographic groups that lean to the Republican party.

In January of 1989, 64% of Republicans were satisfied with the way things were going in the country. The current survey finds just 48% of people who identify with the GOP satisfied - a 16% point decline! The decline in the proportion satisfied has been more modest among Democrats (32% to 23%) and among political independents (41% to 32%). Similarly, contentment with the state of the nation has eroded more among upper and middle income people (-14% points) than among poorer people (9%).

The erosion of confidence in the country's direction among Republicans can be further defined by the Times Mirror political typology. The loss of faith in the way things are going in the country is most evident among GOP stalwarts who hold populist values. Only 42% of Moralists Republicans are content with the state of the nation. In contrast, among pro-business, fiscally conservative Enterpriser Republicans, a 54% majority continue to express satisfaction.

Regionally, the decline in satisfaction with the way things are going in the country is more apparent in the economically hard hit East (-16% points) and less apparent in the Midwest (-5% points) which has not borne the brunt of the current recession. Additionally, the survey finds that discontent with the state of the nation has grown more sharply among older people and is less evident among young adults. In the current survey, only 24% of people 50 years of age and older express contentment with the state of the nation, while 44% of people under 30 years of age say they are happy with the way things are going in the country.

PERCENT SATISFIED WITH WAY THINGS ARE GOING IN THE COUNTRY

	1989	*1991*	*Difference*
TOTAL	45	34	-11
Sex			
Male	48	38	-10
Female	42	30	-12
Age			
18-29	51	44	- 7
30-49	46	35	-11
50+	38	24	-14
Race			
White	47	36	-11
Black	26	18	- 8
Family Income			
$50K+	56	42	-14
$30-49,999	48	35	-13
[2]$20-29,999	41	34	- 7
[3]>$20K	38	29	- 9
Party ID			
Republican	64	48	-16
Democrat	32	23	- 9
Independent	41	32	- 9
Region			
East	46	30	-16
Midwest	43	38	- 5
South	45	34	-11
West	44	32	-12

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[2] In 1989 the income category was $15,000-$29,999

[3] In 1989 the income category was Under $15,000

George Bush's Desert Shield

Perhaps one of the most puzzling aspects of the climate of opinion this fall has been the President's continued high approval rating in the face of discontent with the state of the nation and the ongoing recession. Indeed, while the current survey shows continuing erosion in Bush's approval score, his rating (55%) is still 21 percentage points higher than contentment with the state of the nation.

Analysis of the survey reveals that opinion about victory in the Gulf plays an important role in protecting the President's approval rating from widespread discontent with conditions in the country. A remarkably high 40% of all people ***who are dissatisfied with the way things are going in the country*** approve of the way George Bush is handling his job. However, when this group is divided into two camps: 1) those who feel the Gulf war showed that the U.S. can still unite and achieve things, versus 2) those who disagree with this view, there is a dramatic difference in approval of Bush. Fifty-one percent of the "Gulfites" approve of Bush, compared to only 31% of those who take no satisfaction in the Gulf War.

		DISSATISFIED BUT...	
	Satisfied With The Nation	***Felt Gulf War Showed Unity***	***Did Not Feel The Gulf War Showed Unity***
Approve of George Bush	82	51	32
Disapprove of George Bush	10	36	56
Don't know	8	13	12
	100	100	100

The war in the Gulf is the recent event that most Americans say has greatly influenced their political views; however, the second most frequently mentioned event is, surprisingly, the S&L crisis. Twenty-six percent name the war in the Gulf, while 17% named the S&L crisis. Fewer Americans mention the end of Communism (12%), the ***Webster*** Supreme Court decision (12%) or the Thomas/Hill imbroglio (14%).

Younger people are far more likely than those over thirty to say the Gulf War shaped their political opinions, perhaps providing further insight into Bush's continued strong standing with the young. People over 30 are twice as likely as the young to say they have been influenced by the S&L crisis. People over fifty years of age are more apt to cite the end of communism than the post-WWII generations.

Equal numbers of men and women say their views were influenced by Thomas/Hill. However, blacks are more than three times as likely as whites to say their opinions were influenced by this controversy. The Times Mirror typology identifies one other group besides blacks as saying their political views were principally shaped by the Thomas/Hill affair, the ***Sixties Democrats***. This heavily female, socially liberal group stands alone in feeling that the Thomas/Hill controversy had more of an effect on their views than the war in the Gulf.

While the ***Webster*** decision tends to be more salient to Democratic groups than Republican groups, it clearly has affected the views of women under 30 years of age more than any other demographic or political grouping. Twenty-two percent of young women name the ***Webster*** decision as an important influence on them, compared with 12% among all other Americans.

EVENT WITH GREATEST EFFECT ON POLITICAL BELIEFS

	Gulf War	*S&L Crisis*	*End of Communism*	*Hill/ Thomas*	*Webster*	*Don't Know*
TOTAL	26	17	12	14	12	19 =100
Sex						
Men	25	22	14	12	8	19 =100
Women	28	12	10	15	15	20 =100
Age						
18-29	38	10	9	15	17	11 =100
30-49	27	18	11	13	12	19 =100
50+	17	21	16	14	8	24 =100
Race						
White	27	18	13	11	12	19 =100
Black	20	10	4	38	13	15 =100
Family Income						
$50K+	21	19	14	13	13	20 =100
$30-49,999	26	23	14	8	9	20 =100
$20-29,999	31	16	12	14	13	14 =100
>$20K	28	14	10	18	13	17 =100
Party ID						
Republican	32	14	16	11	10	17 =100
Democrat	22	19	8	19	14	18 =100
Independent	27	19	14	12	11	17 =100
Other						
Wom. >30	38	7	8	16	22	9 =100
60s Dems.	17	24	10	21	12	16 =100

POLITICAL INDICATORS

This survey records the fourth consecutive decline in the President's approval ratings since the end of the Gulf War, and the first time that a clear plurality of the public has not preferred George Bush to a Democratic alternative in response to a test election question. Bush's approval rating is 55%. Forty-one percent say they would like to see him re-elected, compared to 43% who say they would like to see an unnamed Democrat win the election. However, when George Bush is pitted against Mario Cuomo in a test election question responses divide clearly in the President's favor - 58% choose Bush, 37% choose Cuomo and 5% say they are undecided.

Obviously, early test election questions have little absolute meaning. A test of Bush against an unnamed Democrat is "unfair" to Bush because hypothetical opponents carry fewer negatives than real live candidates. The Bush-Cuomo test is "unfair" to Cuomo, in that only 70% of the public currently know enough about him to make any evaluation of the New York Governor. When such questions provide different outcomes, however, they give clues as to what the winning elements might be for each side. The following demographic and partisan patterns appear relevant:

Sex - In the wide Bush sweep over Cuomo, the President wins re-election among both men and women with a small gender gap evident. In the race with a nameless Democrat, Bush carries men but a solid plurality of women vote for the Democratic alternative.

	Bush vs	*Cuomo*	*Bush* vs	*Democrat*
Men	60	36	45	41
Women	56	37	37	45

Age - In both scenarios Bush fails to get a plurality of support from people over fifty years of age. The greatest difference is in the opinions of people under 50 years of age. In the Bush/Cuomo race they vote overwhelmingly for Bush.

	Bush vs	*Cuomo*	*Bush vs*	*Democrat*
18-29	68	26	44	42
30-49	61	34	41	42
50+	47	48	38	45

Region - In the Bush blowout the President wins all four regions; in the tight race the East goes to the Democratic challenger, and all other regions are close.

	Bush vs	***Cuomo***	***Bush vs***	***Democrat***
East	54	41	32	50
Midwest	56	37	44	40
South	60	36	46	43
West	62	32	40	38

Race & Income - In both tests Bush wins the white vote and the $50,000 and over vote, while he loses the black vote in both. However, in the Cuomo test Bush picks up a sizable number of black votes and wins in all income categories.

	Bush vs	***Cuomo***	***Bush vs***	***Democrat***
Race:				
White	61	34	45	38
Black	32	59	10	81
Family Income:				
$50K+	67	28	53	38
$30-$49,999	56	39	46	44
$20-$29,999	61	35	44	41
Less than $20k	53	40	30	49

Party ID - In both tests the President wins among both Republicans ***and*** Independents. However, in the contest against a nameless Democrat the Bush margin among Independents is thin and he earns the support of only eight in ten Republicans.

	Bush vs	***Cuomo***	***Bush vs***	***Democrat***
Republican	90	7	79	11
Democrat	26	70	12	79
Independent	56	36	39	35

The Typology - The typological groupings show that Republican disloyalty in the Bush vs. nameless Democrat test is most evident among ***Moralists***. As they were in 1988, ***Disaffecteds*** are the pivotal Independent swing group. In the current test they fail to show up for Mario Cuomo in much the way they deserted Michael Dukakis between June of 1988 and September 1988. Also as in 1988 the greatest rate of defection on the Democratic side is among ***New Dealers***.

	Bush vs	***Cuomo***	***Bush vs***	***Democrat***
Enterprisers	93	5	85	5
Moralists	89	9	72	10
Upbeats	69	28	56	28
Disaffecteds	53	36	34	38
Seculars	38	58	26	58
60's Democrats	24	75	5	84
New Dealers	38	62	21	71
Pocketbook Dems	24	68	10	79
Bystanders/Other	61	27	44	36

A major problem in evaluating the candidates for the nomination with respect to each other and George Bush is the low levels of public familiarity with them. However, we get some indication of how the public responds to these candidates by looking at their relative favorability scores among people who are able to rate them. On this basis there appear to be two tiers of candidates. Kerrey, Clinton, Wilder, Harkin and Cuomo are rated favorably by about seven in ten. Tsongas and especially Brown get lower ratings. The former California Governor's rating is comparable to the current Vice President's.

BASED ON THOSE WHO CAN RATE

	Favorable	***Unfavorable***	***% Who Could Rate***
George Bush	73	27	97
Dan Quayle	53	47	92
Mario Cuomo	70	30	71
Paul Tsongas	63	37	38
Douglas Wilder	68	32	43
Robert Kerrey	75	25	38
Tom Harkin	68	32	38
Bill Clinton	74	26	40
Jesse Jackson	60	40	94
David Duke	20	80	62
[4]Jerry Brown	51	49	88

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[4] Source: November 1991 Gallup Poll

ECONOMIC ATTITUDES

The Better Off-Worse Off Test

George Bush fails the better off-worse off test that his predecessor in office used so effectively to defeat Jimmy Carter in 1980. Today, most Americans do not feel better off financially than they did four years ago. In fact, the public is about equally divided between those who feel better off (40%) and those who feel worse off (43%). By way of comparison, in the spring of 1987 just months after the stock market crash, the public judged its financial position as better off by a wide 48% to 20% margin.

Looking at how people judge their financial progress now compared to the answers they gave 4 years ago, the largest relative declines in the percent reporting being ***"better off"*** have occurred among whites, middle aged people, people living outside the Midwest and people who earn more than $20,000 a year.

Again on this measure the survey indicates that Republican groups are not immune from discontent with the current situation. Within the Republican camp, only a majority of ***Enterpriser Republicans*** (58%) see themselves as better off than they were four years ago. At the other extreme, Republican-leaning ***Disaffecteds*** see themselves as worse off rather than better off by a stunning 58% to 25% margin. (Disaffecteds are the modern day equivalent of Wallace voters - they were attracted to Ronald Reagan's foreign policy and outsider positions and have been equivocal supporters of George Bush). The discontent of Disaffecteds, with their relative financial position, almost matches that of heavily minority, low-income groups on the Democratic side. Among ***Pocketbook Democrats***, no fewer than 65% judge their financial position as worse than it was four years ago.

FINANCIAL EVALUATION: PERCENT WHO FEEL THEY ARE BETTER OFF TODAY THAN 5 YEARS AGO[5]

	1987	*1991*	*Difference*
TOTAL	48	40	- 8
Sex			
Male	49	43	- 6
Female	47	38	- 9
Age			
18-29	59	55	- 4
30-49	54	43	-11
50+	32	26	- 6
Race			
White	49	41	- 8
Black	42	35	- 7
Family Income			
$50K+	71	60	-11
$30-49,999K	59	47	-12
$20-29,999K	54	39	-15
>$20K	34	25	- 9
Party ID			
Republicans	57	52	- 5
Democrats	39	34	- 5
Independents	50	34	-16
Region			
East	47	38	- 9
Midwest	50	46	- 4
South	47	38	- 9
West	47	39	- 8

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[5] The current survey asks respondents if they feel they are better off than they were four years ago, while the 1987 survey asked respondents if they felt they were better off than five years earlier.

Fear of Unemployment Fuels "I'm Worse Off" View

More Americans worry about rising prices than the prospects of unemployment. Feeling worse off financially than four years ago is more tied to worries about the prospect of unemployment than to concerns about prices.

A fifty-two percent majority of Americans report they worry more about rising prices than unemployment. Thirty-nine percent report they worry more about unemployment. When questioned further, as many as 27% say there is a ***"high chance"*** that a member of their household might lose a job over the course of the next year. Among people who say they are worse off than they were four years ago, 40% feel that unemployment may strike their homes this year, compared to 17% among the ***"better off"*** group.

CHANCES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

	All	*Better Off*	*Worse Off*
Chance high	27%	17%	40%
Low	28%	36%	23%
Almost zero	30%	39%	22%
Out now	5%	2%	7%
Retired	6%	3%	5%
Don't know	4%	3%	4%

Housing, Health care and Higher Education Most Burdensome

While the prospect of unemployment tends to separate those who feel better off from those who feel worse off, specific cost concerns are shared equally by both groups of people. In fact, having difficulty affording health care (31%), housing (19%) or a college education (18%) are the predominant concerns among all sectors of the public. However, there is a clear generational difference in emphasis between the three. Among people over fifty, concern for health care costs dominates, almost to the exclusion of the other two concerns. Among people under 30 years of age, there is less concern about health care cost and much more concern about the cost of housing and paying for higher education. Middle age people divide their cost concerns about equally between housing, health care and higher education.

WHAT DO YOU HAVE THE MOST DIFFICULTY AFFORDING?

	AGE		
	18-29	***30-49***	***50+***
Cost of health care	19	26	45
Cost of housing	29	24	7
Cost of college education	27	21	6
Cost of food/clothes	9	11	11
Cost of an automobile	12	7	10
Cost of retirement	2	7	11
None	1	2	8
Don't know/NA	1	1	2

VOTER DISPOSITIONS

The Voter Revolt

The power of voter discontent is underscored by its bipartisan character. Eighty percent of Republicans, Democrats, and Independents agree that there should be a limit on how many terms one can serve in Congress. The only measurable levels of disagreement with this idea occur among better-informed elements in each party, but even at that only one in five ***Enterpriser Republicans*** and a similar proportion of Democratic-leaning ***Seculars*** think term limits are a bad idea.

On the other hand, the highest levels of discontent with the political system also can be found within each party. A 58% majority of aging ***New Dealers*** think the political system needs a major shake-up rather than only some new leaders. A similar 53% of ***Disaffected*** Independent voters who lean to the Republican party and voted for Bush and Reagan feel that major changes in the political system are required. In contrast, while many Americans feel the political system needs a major shake-up, a 52% majority overall think the system is basically sound and only needs new leaders.

To put these figures in perspective, despite hard times and concerns about competitiveness and other longterm economic problems, there is less of a public outcry for fundamental economic changes in this country than there is for political change. Only 35% of the Times Mirror sample think the economic system needs shaking up, while 62% see the system as basically sound.

Analysis of the survey indicates that the most intense views about political change are held by older people. People over 50 years of age, who vote more and are more attentive to most public issues are much more enthusiastic supporters of term limits and more likely than succeeding generations to think the political system needs a major shake-up.

	AGE		
	18-29	***30-49***	***50+***
Feels:			
Political system needs a major shake up	35	44	48
There should be limits on how many terms one can serve in Congress	71	80	85

An Activist Government

In a variety of ways respondents in this survey give voice to a strong desire for a government that takes a more activist role in dealing with major social problems. A lopsided 61% majority favor using the peace dividend for spending on major domestic problems such as health, education and the environment, rather than using it to reduce the deficit (27%) or for a tax cut (10%). Even a plurality of Republicans (48%) favor more domestic spending rather than applying money that would have been spent on defense to deficit reduction (39%) or to a tax cut (12%).

When asked directly about the President's priorities, the public calls for efforts on domestic programs such as improving the quality of education (22%) and improving health care (18%) more often than on all other issues, save reducing unemployment (25%). In particular, foreign policy objectives are far down on the public priority list, with only 5% naming making sure that Iraq does not get nuclear weapons, 4% naming achieving a lasting peace in the Mideast or 2% citing helping the Russians as the things that should be of most importance to the President.

Over eight in ten (84%) agree with the statement that the government should play a more active role in improving the health care, housing and education for middle income families. As many as 52% of the people questioned say they ***completely agree*** with that statement. The survey also finds an almost equal level of support for the idea that the government should play an active role in improving things for ***lower income people*** - 88% totally agree and 53% ***completely*** agree with this idea.

Republicans classified in the populist category, ***Moralists***, are the only political group in the country to express meaningfully more support for the government improving things for middle income families (49% completely agree) than for lower income families (36% completely agree). In contrast, most Democratic groups are somewhat more likely to express strong support for programs directed at lower-income people than for middle class programs. On balance, however, large majorities of all Democratic groups express support for aid directed to both the middle class and to lower-income people.

Perhaps more significantly, one Republican group appears out of step with the general tenor of public opinion. A majority of ***Enterpriser Republicans*** (50%) favors using the peace dividend for deficit reduction rather than for social spending (35%) and only a third of these fiscally conservative, pro-business GOP stalwarts are in complete agreement that a more activist government is required to deal with the problems of the middle class and the problems of poor people. Among populist Republicans, a plurality of Moralists prefer using the peace dividend for domestic programs and 49% are strong advocates of the government playing an activist role in solving the problems of the middle class.

Health Insurance Guarantees

Enterprisers also are distinguished from other segments of the public and other Republican or Republican-leaning groups by their lack of enthusiasm for the idea that the government should guarantee that everyone is covered by health insurance. Eighty-two percent of the public agree with this idea and 54% ***completely*** agree. Among Enterprisers just 28% completely agree. In contrast, 49% of Moralist Republicans totally support health insurance guarantees, as do six in ten Independents who lean to the Republican party. This is the same level at which Democratic groups concur that health insurance is required.

Altruism - Helping Others, Being Less Greedy

Enterpriser Republicans are also out of step with other Republicans, not to mention the public at large, on the issue of the country ***"becoming less greedy and more caring about the less fortunate."*** Sixty percent of all people completely agree with this idea, but only 30% of Enterprisers feel this way. Among other Republicans, 63% completely agree with this statement. It's noteworthy that 70% of Disaffected Independent voters who lean to the Republican party, but are the most angry and mistrusting segment of the public, completely agree with this statement.

The strong sentiments expressed by the public in this regard are quite consistent with the Times Mirror Value trends showing the public expressing more support for government action to help the disadvantaged.

On the opposite side of the altruism argument, just 26% of those sampled express agreement with the statement that the "***government should worry more about the problems of middle income people and less about the problems of poor people***" and only 9% of the sample say they completely agree with the statement. Feeling that the problems of the poor should get less attention is more prevalent among more affluent people, among whites and among people who say they have already made up their minds to vote for George Bush next year. However, even among these groups, solid majorities of the public disagree with this idea.

Protectionism and Tax Hikes for the Rich

The survey shows the Republican party also divided on two issues that generate significant public emotion: protecting American jobs and taxing the rich. Enterpriser Republicans are unenthusiastic about protectionism and express significant opposition to the idea of increasing taxes for people who earn $100,000 a year or more.

Among the public at large, 53% completely agree that US jobs should be protected from foreign competition, and 47% feel the same way about increasing taxes on affluent people. Among Enterprisers, only 36% favor protectionism, and 23% are strong supporters of the idea of taxing the rich. Seculars, who are sophisticated, unreligious, socially liberal Independents, share the Enterprisers' lack of enthusiasm for protectionism -only 34% were strongly disposed toward it. Unlike Enterprisers, however, this relatively affluent group is as likely as the public at large to favor increasing the amount of taxes paid by people earning $100,000 a year or more.

Both protectionism and tax the rich proposals strike a more responsive chord among poorer people than among affluent people. Protectionism also has greater appeal to people over fifty years of age than it does to younger elements of the population. Six in ten of those over 50 years of age completely agree that American jobs should be protected from foreign competition, compared to only 50% among younger Americans.

Triumphs Abroad

The public seems responsive to likely Republican campaign appeals that play to the victory in the Gulf and the fall of communism. A fifty-six percent majority of the public agree with the statement that the policies of Reagan and Bush helped speed the end of communism and nearly everyone in the survey (84%) expressed agreement that the war in the Gulf showed that the US can still unite and accomplish things. Almost half the public (49%) ***agree completely*** with the latter proposition and 18% ***agree completely*** that the two Republican presidents' policies abetted the end of communism.

The broad based Gulf appeal can reach voters at all points on the political spectrum, but its greatest utility to the GOP may be in rekindling the loyalty of more populist Republicans, who seem somewhat disillusioned with the course of the nation and George Bush himself. One of the few things that Enterprisers and Moralists totally agree on in the current survey is what the war in the Gulf showed and that Bush and Reagan helped bury communism.

	COMPLETELY AGREE	
	The Gulf War Showed That The U.S. Can Still Unite and Accomplish Things	*The Policies of Ronald Reagan and George Bush Helped Speed The End of Communism in Russia*
TOTAL	49	18
Enterprisers	60	28
Moralists	58	27
Upbeats	56	27
Disaffecteds	47	13
Seculars	30	7
60's Democrats	40	10
New Dealers	44	17
Pocketbooks	50	17
Bystanders/Others	42	12

Generational and Gender Appeals

While most people agree to some extent that ***"it's time for a new generation of leaders to take over in Washington"***, only one in four (24%) completely agree with the concept. However, even this is undercut by the fact that people under 30 (26%) and those 30-49 (21%) are no more likely to agree with this idea than older people (26%).

Gender appeals, on the other hand, appear to have more going for them. A somewhat larger percentage (31%) completely agreed that the country would be better served if more women were elected to Congress. Women are significantly more likely to express this view (37%) than were men (22%). Well-educated women are especially likely to feel strongly about this - 44% completely agree that the country would be improved if more women served in Congress.

There is greater support for increasing female representation in Congress among Independents (32%) and Democrats (38%) than among Republicans (21%). Among Independents who lean to the Republican party, however, there is a much greater inclination to feel there should be more women in Congress. Specifically, ***Disaffecteds***, who lean to the Republican party even though they are extremely distrustful of politicians and the "system", are especially likely to say they completely agree that the country would be better off if there were more women in Congress.

A small experiment conducted in the course of the survey confirms these results. Respondent disposition to vote for three types of candidate was measured. Using a split sample design, in half the cases the hypothetical political candidate was identified as a male and in the other half a female for each of the three candidate types.

The female version of the candidate achieves a higher "***sounds like a very good candidate***" score than the male version for each of the three hypothetical tests. A female tests better than a male as a candidate who "***headed a public health agency and was involved with Planned Parenthood***" (22% respond "very good candidate" for a female so described, versus 16% for the male). A female candidate tests better than a male as a "***public defender who had headed a an environmental commission***" (24% vs 17%). And a female version of a candidate described as a "***business executive named person of the year by the Chamber of Commerce***" tests 10% points better than the male version (37% vs 27%).

Interestingly, the experiment shows ***both*** men and women as more likely to vote for a female than a male candidate. Analysis of the results of the experiment also shows that Democrats and Independents are more likely to vote for a conservative-sounding business candidate when identified as a woman; Republicans, however, are not more inclined to vote for a female version of the liberal-sounding candidates.

PERCENT SAYING SOUNDS LIKE A VERY GOOD CANDIDATE

	MALE VERSION			*FEMALE VERSION*		
	All	*Men*	*Women*	*All*	*Men*	*Women*
A 45 year old ___ who has headed a public health agency for 10 years and has been closely involved with Planned Parenthood	16	13	19	22	21	24
A 35 year old ____ who has worked as a public defender and the head of a local environmental commission	17	18	17	24	22	25
A business executive who was named man/woman of the year by the Chamber of Commerce for his/her commitment to community service	27	30	25	37	37	36

As the climate of opinion appears good for female candidates, the survey indicates that the public has an improved opinion of the women's movement since the mid-1980s. In the current survey 71% said they had a favorable opinion of the women's movement, while 22% rated it unfavorably. A 1985 nationwide Times Mirror survey found the public rating the women's movement 53% favorable and 30% unfavorable.

The improved image of the women's movement in the current survey is mostly a result of women having a more favorable opinion of the movement than they had in 1985. Men's opinions have improved only a little since the earlier survey.

	MEN		*WOMEN*	
	1985	*1991*	*1985*	*1991*
Opinion of the Women's Movement:				
Favorable	64	69	63	72
Unfavorable	28	24	31	21
Don't know	7	8	5	7

TRENDS IN POLITICAL VALUES AND ATTITUDES

Militarism

Even in the wake of the Persian Gulf War, American attitudes about militarism are essentially unchanged since 1987. A bare majority (52%) still say that the best way to ensure peace is through military strength, although the number who disagree has risen slightly, from 40% in 1987 to 45% in the current survey. The population is divided by the belief that United States should get even with any country that tries to take advantage of it: 45% agree with this and 51% disagree. Three-quarters (74%) don't believe that American lives are worth more than the lives of people in other countries.

One issue that has seen a small increase in support since the Gulf War is a moral obligation to military service. Sixty percent today say that we should all be willing to fight for our country, right or wrong, compared with 54% in 1987.

	1987	*1990*	*1991*
MILITARISM			
It is my belief that we should get even with any country that tries to take advantage of the United States			
Agree	44	47	45
Disagree	47	46	51
Don't know	9	7	4
Total	100	100	100
The best way to ensure peace is through military strength			
Agree	54	52	52
Disagree	40	44	45
Don't know	6	4	3
Total	100	100	100
American lives are worth more than the lives of people in other countries			
Agree	24	28	23
Disagree	71	68	74
Don't know	5	4	3
Total	100	100	100

	1987	1990	1991
We all should be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong			
Agree	54	55	60
Disagree	40	40	37
Don't know	6	5	3
Total	100	100	100

Political Alienation and Participation

The 1990 Times Mirror Typology Survey found an alienated electorate that was tired of business as usual in Washington. This trend has continued and grown stronger in 1991. Eighty-four percent of the public now say that elected officials in Washington lose touch with people pretty quickly, up from 78% in 1990 and 73% in 1987. In 1987, nearly half (47%) of Americans agreed that elected officials "care about people like me." In 1991 that figure has dwindled to one-third (36%). Three-quarters of the public (77%) now say that it is time for DC politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders, and this is a substantial increase in just the past year (61%). The older and wealthier segments of society register the most frustration with the Washington status quo: there has been a seventeen-point increase in the number of people over age 50 who feel this way (64% in 1987 to 81% in 1991), and a twenty-point increase among people from families with incomes of $50,000 or more (50% in '87 to 70% in '91).

There has also been a slow, steady erosion of the public's confidence that the government is run for the benefit of all people. Only 48% agree with this statement today, compared with 52% in 1990 and 57% in 1987. Once again, older Americans show some of the highest levels of alienation: only two in five (42%) people over age fifty now believe this, compared with three in five (57%) in 1987. Whites (58% in 1987 vs. 48% in 1991) and people from households with annual incomes between $20,000 and $50,000 (60% in '87 vs. 48% in '91) also having growing doubts that the government is run for the benefit of all people.

Despite a professed lack of faith in politicians, Americans continue to express feelings of empowerment. Three-quarters (74%) believe that voting gives "people like me" some say about how the government runs things. Ninety-three percent now say they feel it is their duty as a citizen to vote, up from 85% in 1987 and 1990. Even in the face of such high support for the power of the vote, just as many people agree (50%) as disagree (50%) that "people like me" have any say about what the government does.

Paradoxically, the public reports greater interest in following current events at the same time that it expresses strong feelings of alienation. More Americans today say that they are interested in keeping up with national affairs (90% in 1991 vs. 81% in 1987), but at the same time more are bored by what goes on in Washington (52% in

'91 vs. 42% in '87). One-third (34%) feel that most issues in Washington don't affect them personally.

Local politics are also attracting increased interest: 77% in the current survey say they follow local politics, up from 70% in 1990 and 1987.

Given the current mistrust of politicians and their interests, it is not surprising that two-thirds of the public (64%) claim that they do not pay attention to what a candidate calls himself. But half (54%) admit that they sometimes vote for a candidate without knowing enough about him.

	1987	*1990*	*1991*
POLITICAL ALIENATION			
People like me don't have any say about what the government does			
Agree	52	57	50
Disagree	46	52	50
Don't know	2	1	*
Total	100	100	100
Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly			
Agree	73	78	84
Disagree	24	19	15
Don't know	3	3	1
Total	100	100	100
Most elected officials care what people like me think			
Agree	47	44	36
Disagree	49	53	62
Don't know	4	3	2
Total	100	100	100
Voting gives people like me some say about how the government runs things			
Agree	78	73	74
Disagree	19	25	24
Don't know	3	2	2
Total	100	100	100
The government is really run for the benefit of all the people			
Agree	57	52	48
Disagree	39	45	50
Don't know	4	3	2
Total	100	100	100

	1987	*1990*	*1991*
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION			
I feel it's my duty as a citizen to always vote			
Agree	85	85	93
Disagree	12	13	6
Don't know	3	2	1
Total	100	100	100
I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs			
Agree	81	82	90
Disagree	15	16	9
Don't know	4	2	1
Total	100	100	100
I'm pretty interested in following local politics			
Agree	70	70	77
Disagree	26	29	21
Don't know	4	1	2
Total	100	100	100
I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote			
Agree	66	67	74
Disagree	28	30	22
Don't know	6	3	4
Total	100	100	100
I'm generally bored by what goes on in Washington			
Agree	42	48	52
Disagree	54	50	46
Don't know	4	2	2
Total	100	100	100
Most issues in Washington don't affect me personally			
Agree	31	35	34
Disagree	65	62	64
Don't know	4	3	2
Total	100	100	100

	1987	1990	1991
I sometimes vote for a candidate without knowing enough about them			
Agree	53	53	54
Disagree	41	42	44
Don't know	6	5	2
Total	100	100	100
ATTITUDES TOWARDS POLITICIANS			
Time for politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders			
Agree	62	61	77
Disagree	29	30	20
Don't know	9	9	3
Total	100	100	100
I don't pay attention to what a candidate calls himself			
Agree	61	64	64
Disagree	33	32	32
Don't know	6	4	4
Total	100	100	100

Individual Alienation

At the same time that Americans are feeling politically alienated, there has been a rising sense of individual alienation as well. In the face of the recession, more and more people agree that hard work offers no guarantee of success. Forty-four percent say this in 1991, compared with 36% last year and less than a third (29%) in the relative boom times of 1987. There has also been a six-point increase since 1987 (74% in 1987 vs. 80% in 1991) in the number saying that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. Increased support for this sentiment is expressed most strongly by Democrats (74% in 1987 vs. 90% in 1991) and members of families with incomes between $20,000 and $50,000 (72% in '87 vs. 82% in '91), who are feeling the current financial crunch more acutely than families with lower or upper incomes.

	1987	*1990*	*1991*
INDIVIDUAL ALIENATION			
Hard work offers little guarantee of success			
Agree	29	36	44
Disagree	68	63	54
Don't know	3	1	2
Total	100	100	100
It's true that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer			
Agree	74	78	80
Disagree	22	19	18
Don't know	4	3	2
Total	100	100	100

Personal Financial Pressure

The recession has had an obvious impact on questions pertaining to the pocketbook. Today half of all Americans (52%) say that money is one of their most important concerns. Since 1987 the number of people who say they often don't have enough money to make ends meet has grown consistently. Half (51%) the population now agree with this, up four points since last year (47%) and eight points since 1987 (43%).

Predictably, there has been a steady decline in the number who say that they are pretty well satisfied with the way things are going financially. In 1991 56% say this, compared with 58% in 1990 and 63% in 1987. This trend is most pronounced among women (62% in 1987 vs. 53% in 1991), people from families with annual incomes between $20,000 and $50,000 (70% in '87 vs. 56% in '91), and Easterners (67% in '87 vs. 55% in '91), who benefitted highly from the Eighties' real estate and financial markets that are now struggling.

	1987	*1990*	*1991*
PERSONAL FINANCIAL PRESSURE			
I often don't have enough money to make ends meet			
Agree	43	47	51
Disagree	55	52	48
Don't know	2	1	1
Total	100	100	100
Money is one of my most important concerns			
Agree	47	53	52
Disagree	51	46	47
Don't know	2	1	1
Total	100	100	100
I'm pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for me financially			
Agree	63	58	56
Disagree	35	41	42
Don't know	2	1	2
Total	100	100	100

Personal Freedoms

Tolerance for gays has risen substantially since 1987. More than half (56%) the population now thinks it is wrong for school boards to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals. This is a fourteen-point increase since the question was asked in 1987 (42%).

The public remains divided on the question of banning books that contain dangerous ideas from public school libraries: 49% agree, and 48% disagree.

	1987	1990	1991
PERSONAL FREEDOMS			
School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals			
Agree	51	49	39
Disagree	42	45	56
Don't know	7	6	5
Total	100	100	100
Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries			
Agree	50	50	49
Disagree	44	45	48
Don't know	6	5	3
Total	100	100	100

Racial Tolerance and Equal Rights

There is a growing awareness among whites that the lives of blacks have not improved much in the past few years. In 1987[6], only 25% of whites agreed with this idea, but in 1991 two in five (41%) now believe this to be true. Blacks have consistently agreed with this much more than whites: two-thirds (67%) expressed this view in 1987, and agreement has climbed slightly (73%) in the current survey.

As many previous surveys have demonstrated, blacks and whites differ widely on the question of quotas. Only one-quarter of whites (26%) believe that every possible effort should be made to improve the standing of blacks and other minorities, even if this means giving preferential treatment. Three in five (60%) blacks espouse this view.

But despite this opposition to preferential treatment, most Americans (59%) disagree with the idea that we have gone too far pushing equal rights in this country. Ninety-four percent say that our society should do whatever is necessary to ensure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed. Americans like to think of themselves as fair, and white disapproval of quotas reflects the feeling that affirmative action measures give unfair advantages to blacks.

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[6] Due to an observed methodological difference in responses to racial questions in personal and telephone interviews, only results of phone interviews conducted in 1987 and the current survey are compared. In 1990 only personal interviews were conducted, so comparisons are not made.

Interracial dating is now seen as OK by nearly two-thirds of whites (63%), compared with 56% in 1987. Blacks largely approved of this in 1987 (84%) and still do (86%).

	1987	*1991*
RACIAL TOLERANCE/BASED ON WHITES		
In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country		
Agree	25	41
Disagree	72	52
Don't know	3	7
Total	100	100
I think it's all right for blacks and whites to date each other		
Agree	56	63
Disagree	40	33
Don't know	5	4
Total	100	100
We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment		
Agree	25	26
Disagree	72	71
Don't know	3	3
Total	100	100

	1987	*1991*
RACIAL TOLERANCE/BASED ON BLACKS		
In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country		
Agree	67	73
Disagree	32	25
Don't know	1	2
Total	100	100
I think it's all right for blacks and whites to date each other		
Agree	84	86
Disagree	12	10
Don't know	4	4
Total	100	100
We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment		
Agree	62	60
Disagree	37	34
Don't know	1	6
Total	100	100

Welfarism

With more awareness of homelessness and stronger calls for government action to solve social problems, there is increased support for the notion that the government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep. The current survey finds seventy-three percent in agreement with this, compared with 62% in 1987 and 1990. Support for this topic has grown most strongly in the past four years among Democrats (62% in 1987 vs. 82% in 1991) and people under age 30 (64% in '87 vs. 84% in '91). Half the public (50%) believes that the government should do more to help needy people, even if this means going deeper into debt.

	1987	*1990*	*1991*
WELFARISM			
Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed			
Agree	90	91	94
Disagree	8	7	5
Don't know	2	2	1
Total	100	100	100
The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt			
Agree	53	51	50
Disagree	40	44	46
Don't know	7	5	4
Total	100	100	100
The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep			
Agree	62	62	73
Disagree	33	34	25
Don't know	5	4	2
Total	100	100	100
We have gone too far pushing equal rights in this country			
Agree	42	43	38
Disagree	53	53	59
Don't know	5	4	3
Total	100	100	100

Attitudes Toward Government

At the same time that the public would like government to adopt a more activist approach to handling social problems for both the middle class and poor people, the public continues to subscribe to the longstanding view that government doesn't work well. Two-thirds (68%) say that when something is run by the government it is usually wasteful and inefficient, and a similar proportion (62%) feel that the federal government controls too much of our daily lives.

	1987	1990	1991
GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES			
When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful			
Agree	63	67	68
Disagree	31	29	30
Don't know	6	4	2
Total	100	100	100
The federal government controls too much of our daily lives			
Agree	58	62	62
Disagree	37	34	36
Don't know	5	4	2
Total	100	100	100

Importance of Religion and Traditionalist Values

Religion remains extremely important to a vast majority of Americans. Eighty-eight percent say they never doubt the existence of God, and four out of five Americans (80%) say that prayer is an important part of their daily lives. Three-quarters (76%) of the public says that there are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone, regardless of their situation.

After a decade with a divorce rate hovering near the fifty-percent mark, slightly fewer Americans say they have old-fashioned values about family and marriage. Although the percentage agreeing is still quite high (81%), it is down six percent from 1990 and 1987 (87%). There has been a similar drop in the number who feel that women should return to their traditional role in society: only 23% now agree with this, down from 30% in 1990 and 1987.

	1987	*1990*	*1991*
RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM			
Prayer is an important part of my daily life			
Agree	76	77	80
Disagree	23	22	19
Don't know	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100
I never doubt the existence of God			
Agree	88	87	88
Disagree	10	11	11
Don't know	2	2	1
Total	100	100	100
TRADITIONALIST VALUES			
Women should return to their traditional role in society			
Agree	30	30	23
Disagree	66	67	74
Don't know	4	3	3
Total	100	100	100
I have old-fashioned values about family and marriage			
Agree	87	87	81
Disagree	11	12	18
Don't know	2	1	1
Total	100	100	100
There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation			
Agree	79	79	76
Disagree	16	17	22
Don't know	5	4	2
Total	100	100	100

Business Attitudes

The 1987 and 1990 surveys found the public to be very critical of business, and these attitudes are largely unchanged. Four out of five (80%) feel that too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few big companies, and two thirds (65%) think corporations make too much profit. Since the recession, business has actually gained detractors: 57% now disagree with the assertion that corporations strike a fair balance between profits and public interest, compared with 48% in 1987. At the same time, three-quarters (76%) acknowledge that the strength of the U.S. today is based on American business.

	1987	*1990*	*1991*
BUSINESS ATTITUDES			
There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies			
Agree	77	77	80
Disagree	18	18	17
Don't know	5	5	3
Total	100	100	100
Business corporations make too much profit			
Agree	65	63	65
Disagree	28	30	30
Don't know	7	7	5
Total	100	100	100
The strength of the U.S. today is based on american business			
Agree	76	77	77
Disagree	19	17	20
Don't know	5	6	3
Total	100	100	100
Corporations strike fair balance between profits and public interest			
Agree	43	43	40
Disagree	48	50	57
Don't know	9	7	3
Total	100	100	100

THE GOVERNMENT IS REALLY RUN FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL THE PEOPLE

	MOSTLY & COMPLETELY AGREE		
	1987	*1991*	*% Diff.*
TOTAL	57	48	9
Sex			
Male	58	48	10
Female	56	48	8
Age			
18-29	63	60	3
30-49	54	46	8
50+	57	42	15
Race			
White	58	48	10
Black	49	46	3
Party ID			
Republican	67	54	13
Democrat	54	48	6
Independent	55	44	11
Family Income			
$50K+	55	51	4
$30-49,999	59	48	11
$20-29,999	61	48	13
>$20K	55	48	7
Region			
East	58	49	9
Midwest	56	46	10
South	60	50	10
West	54	46	8

MOST ELECTED OFFICIALS CARE WHAT PEOPLE LIKE ME THINK

	MOSTLY & COMPLETELY AGREE		
	1987	*1991*	*% Diff.*
TOTAL	47	36	11
Sex			
Male	47	36	11
Female	48	36	12
Age			
18-29	44	35	9
30-49	46	34	12
50+	51	39	12
Race			
White	49	36	13
Black	37	34	3
Party ID			
Republican	57	39	18
Democrat	41	36	5
Independent	47	32	15
Income			
$50K+	51	38	13
$30-49,999	52	36	16
$20-29,999	45	36	9
>$20K	45	34	11
Region			
East	49	31	18
Midwest	46	40	6
South	48	37	11
West	46	35	11

IT'S TIME FOR POLITICIANS TO STEP ASIDE AND MAKE ROOM FOR NEW LEADERS

	MOSTLY & COMPLETELY AGREE		
	1987	*1991*	*% Diff.*
TOTAL	62	77	15
Sex			
Male	62	76	14
Female	61	78	17
Age			
18-29	60	73	13
30-49	60	76	16
50+	64	81	17
Race			
White	60	76	16
Black	73	85	12
Party ID			
Republican	50	71	21
Democrat	61	81	20
Independent	70	80	10
Income			
$50K+	50	70	20
$30-49,999	57	78	21
$20-29,999	64	78	14
>$20K	67	80	13
Region			
East	59	82	23
Midwest	65	75	10
South	61	78	17
West	62	74	12

TODAY IT'S TRUE THAT THE RICH GET RICHER AND THE POOR GET POORER

	MOSTLY & COMPLETELY AGREE		
	1987	*1991*	*% Diff.*
TOTAL	74	80	6
Sex			
Male	73	78	5
Female	76	81	5
Age			
18-29	73	80	7
30-49	74	82	8
50+	76	77	1
Race			
White	72	78	6
Black	87	93	6
Party ID			
Republican	62	68	6
Democrat	74	90	6
Independent	84	79	5
Income			
$50K+	65	66	1
$30-49,999	70	79	9
$20-29,999	75	87	12
>$20K	80	85	5
Region			
East	74	81	7
Midwest	77	76	1
South	74	81	7
West	72	81	9

I'M PRETTY WELL SATISFIED WITH THE WAY THINGS ARE GOING FOR ME FINANCIALLY

	MOSTLY & COMPLETELY AGREE		
	1987	*1991*	*% Diff.*
TOTAL	63	56	7
Sex			
Male	64	61	3
Female	62	53	9
Age			
18-29	54	49	5
30-49	61	54	7
50+	72	65	7
Race			
White	67	59	8
Black	39	38	1
Party ID			
Republican	73	66	7
Democrat	61	53	8
Independent	59	52	7
Income			
$50K+	82	74	8
$30-49,999	73	62	11
$20-29,999	64	49	15
>$20K	52	45	7
Region			
East	67	55	12
Midwest	65	62	3
South	61	57	4
West	59	51	8

THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD GUARANTEE EVERY CITIZEN ENOUGH TO EAT AND A PLACE TO SLEEP

	MOSTLY & COMPLETELY AGREE		
	1987	*1991*	*% Diff.*
TOTAL	62	73	11
Sex			
Male	59	68	9
Female	65	77	12
Age			
18-29	64	84	20
30-49	60	72	12
50+	62	67	5
Race			
White	59	71	12
Black	80	92	12
Party ID			
Republican	46	62	16
Democrat	62	82	20
Independent	73	74	1
Income			
$50K+	54	68	14
$30-49,999	57	67	10
$20-29,999	57	73	16
>$20K	69	81	12
Region			
East	71	80	9
Midwest	62	73	11
South	58	70	12
West	56	68	12

THE TIMES MIRROR TYPOLOGY

In 1987 Times Mirror developed a unique voter classification scheme that divided the electorate on the basis of political values, party identification and measures of political participation. Since its inception Times Mirror has conducted numerous nationwide surveys using this political typology, the most recent of which was reported in ***THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS & POLITICS - 1990***. The typology was developed for administration by personal interview in that it requires about 15 minutes of interviewing time to ask the full battery of questions.

Over the past year ***The Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press*** has developed a modified form of the Times Mirror Typology that is suitable for telephone interviewing in that it requires many fewer questions. It also divides the public into fewer groups (9 vs. 11) and therefore can be used with more limited sample size surveys. It is our intention to utilize the modified typology scheme on each of our pre-election surveys in 1992. While this form of the typology does not offer the full analytical richness of the original scheme, we think it continues to be an important and highly useful way of looking at the electorate.

The modified typology is based on the important concepts about the homogeneity of various voting groups that we uncovered in our earlier research. There are two core Republican groups - ***Enterprisers and Moralists***. Enterprisers are fiscal conservatives, who hold positive attitudes toward business and are anti-welfarist. They are affluent, well-educated and well-informed. Moralists, are highly religious, socially conservative and show low levels of concern for personal freedoms. They are less affluent, older and many live in the South.

There are three core Democratic groups. ***Sixties Democrats*** are strong believers in social justice, are adverse to the use of military force and experience low financial pressure. They are a heavily female, middle class, middle aged group that supports most of the policy positions of the national Democratic party.

New Dealers also do not experience a lot of financial pressure, but they are advocates of a tough defense policy and are socially conservative. Drawn heavily from the South, the roots of these Democrats who defected in some numbers to Reagan and Bush go all the way back to FDR's presidency. ***Pocketbook Democrats*** are very concerned with social justice and the government taking a more active role in the solution of the social and economic problems these people face on a day to day basis.

Many minority members, poor people and people with less than a high school education are Pocketbook Dems.

There are three typology groups who are basically Independent. ***Seculars*** lean to the Democratic party, however some identify more closely with the GOP. They are strongly supportive of personal freedoms and profess no religious belief. Seculars are well-informed, relatively affluent and more often found in the East and on the West Coast.

Two Independent groups lean to the Republican party. ***Disaffecteds*** are personally alienated, financially pressured and deeply skeptical of politicians. This middle aged, lower middle income group contains many blue collar workers. ***Upbeats*** are also Independents who lean to the GOP, but their attitudinal profile is almost the opposite of Disaffecteds. Upbeats contain many young people who tend to be uncritical of government and other institutions. They also have American Exceptionalist values, believing that Americans can always solve their problems and there are not limits to this country's power.

The final group in the Times Mirror typology are ***Bystanders*** who reflect an almost total lack of interest in politics and public affairs. This urban, lower socioeconomic group contains many young singles.

The table below shows the percentage of the survey respondents in each typology group for this survey.

	PERCENT
Enterprisers	12
Moralists	14
Upbeats	10
Disaffecteds	17
Bystanders	6
Seculars	9
60's Democrats	9
New Dealers	7
Pocketbook Dems.	11
Unclassified	5

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among a nationally representative sample of 2,020 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period of October 31 - November 10, 1991. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points.

For the questions that measured preferences for the presidential election the sample was divided into two random halves. 1,010 respondents were asked to choose between George Bush and an unnamed Democrat, while the other half sample was asked to choose between George Bush and Mario Cuomo. The sampling error for results of each question is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

The results of the Democratic nomination question is based upon 868 interviews with Democrats and Independents who say they lean to the Democratic party. The margin of sampling error for these results is plus or minus 4 percentage points

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
POLITICAL SURVEY I
OCTOBER 31 - NOVEMBER 10, 1991
N=2,020

SEX: 1[ ]Male 2[ ]Female

TIME STARTED:

TIME FINISHED:

LENGTH:

REGION:
1 East
2 Midwest
3 South
4 West

INTERVIEWER'S NAME:

INTERVIEWER'S I.D.:

PAGE NUMBER:

REPLICATE NUMBER:

STRATUM:
1 Stratum One
2 Stratum Two
3 Remainder

DATE:

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am ____________ calling for the Princeton Survey Research Associates from Princeton, New Jersey. We are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

My first question is...

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

		NEWS INTEREST INDEX					
		Oct 1991	July 1991	May 1991	March 1991	Jan 25 1991	Jan 3 1991
55	Approve	61	67	77	84	79	59
33	Disapprove	28	23	16	10	14	24
12	Don't know	10	10	7	6	7	17
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.2 I am going to read to you the names of some possible candidates for the Democratic nomination for President. After I read all the names would you tell me which one you would most like to see nominated as the Democratic parties candidate for President? **(ROTATE LIST)**

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '8' JACKSON TO Q.2 ASK:
Q.2a And who would be your second choice?

IF ANSWERED '9' OTHER OR '10' DON'T KNOW IN Q.2 ASK:
Q.3 Well as of today, to whom do you most lean? (REREAD LIST)

[1]**BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND LEANERS**	
4	Former Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas
8	Virginia Governor Douglas Wilder
5	Nebraska Senator Robert Kerrey
6	Iowa Senator Tom Harkin
30	New York Governor Mario Cuomo
18	Former California Governor Jerry Brown
9	Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton
0	District of Columbia Senate Representative Jesse Jackson
2	Other
25	Don't know

FORM 1
Q.4 Would you like to see George Bush re-elected President in 1992 or would you prefer that a Democratic candidate win the election?

	Total Respondents	Registered Voters
Bush re-elected - **GO TO Q4B**	41	41
Prefer Democrat - **GO TO Q4B**	43	44
Not sure (VOL) - **GO TO Q.5C**	16	15
	100	100

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[1] Jackson preferences redistributed on the basis of second choices.

IF ANSWERED '1' BUSH RE-ELECTED OR '2' PREFER DEMOCRAT ASK:

Q.4b Have you pretty much decided how you will vote in the Presidential election or is there a chance that you might change your mind?

	Total Respondents	Registered Voters
Bush		
Made up mind - **GO TO Q5C**	19	19
Might change - **GO TO Q5C**	22	22
Democrat		
Made up mind - **GO TO Q5C**	17	18
Might change - **GO TO Q5C**	26	26
Not sure (VOL) - **GO TO Q5C**	16	15
	100	100

FORM 2

Q.5 Suppose the 1992 Presidential election were being held today. If George Bush was the Republican candidate and New York Governor Mario Cuomo were the Democratic candidate who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q.5 ASK:

Q.5a As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican or do you lean more to Mario Cuomo the Democrat?

	Total Respondents	Registered Voters
Bush with leaners	58	57
Cuomo with leaners	37	39
Other/Undecided	5	4
	100	100

Q.5b Have you pretty much decided how you will vote in the Presidential election or is there a chance that you might change your mind?

	Total Respondents	Registered Voters
Bush firm	21	22
Bush soft	28	27
Cuomo firm	15	16
Cuomo soft	25	25

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.5c What is the most important problem facing you in your life these days?

25	Finances/Money/Making ends meet
18	Economy/Recession
13	Jobs/Unemployment
8	Have no pressing problems
8	Taxes
6	Cost of health care/Insurance/Drugs
4	Old age/Social Security/Medicare
3	Personal health
3	Health care-quality/Availability
3	Crime/drugs
3	Quality of education
2	Personal/Interpersonal issues
2	Cost of education
2	Raising/Caring for children
1	Morality/General decline
1	Bush's inattention to domestic issues
6	Other
3	Refused/No answer

Q.6 In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the U.S. at this time?

		May 1990	Jan. 1989	Oct. 1988	May 1988	Jan. 1988
34	Satisfied	41	45	56	41	39
61	Dissatisfied	54	50	40	54	55
5	Don't know	5	5	4	5	6
100		100	100	100	100	100

Q.6a As I read from a list, tell me which ONE of the following eight items is the most important thing for the President to do in the future?

Q.6b Which should be the President's second highest priority? **(REREAD LIST)**

	Reduce unemployment
25	Highest
20	Second
	Improve the quality of education
22	Highest
16	Second
	Improve healthcare
18	Highest
20	Second
	Reform the U.S. banking and financial industry
12	Highest
14	Second
	Improve the environment
8	Highest
10	Second
	Make sure that Iraq does not get nuclear weapons
5	Highest
6	Second
	Achieve a lasting peace in the Mideast
4	Highest
5	Second
	Help the Russians convert to a market economy
2	Highest
3	Second

FORM 1
Q.6c Do you think our economic system needs a major shake up or do you think that our economic system is basically sound but needs some reform?

35	Major changes
62	Sound some reform
*	No change needed
3	Don't know
100	

FORM 2

Q.6c Do you think our political system needs a major shake up or do you think that our political system is basically sound and only needs some new leaders?

43	Major changes
52	Sound, some new leaders
1	No change needed (VOL)
4	Don't worry (VOL)
100	

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.7 Thinking about your own situation, compared to four years ago, would you say that you are better off financially today or worse off financially today?

		[2]May 1987
40	Better off	48
43	Worse off	20
16	Same (VOL)	31
1	Don't know (VOL)	1
100		100

Q.8 Now looking ahead, do you expect that at this time next year you will be financially better off than now, or worse off than now?

		May 1990	Jan. 1989	May 1988	Jan. 1988
49	Better	44	54	54	46
26	Worse	24	15	10	18
17	Same (VOL)	27	28	31	30
8	Don't know (VOL)	5	3	5	6
100		100	100	100	100

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[2] In 1987 the questioned was asked, "Compared to five years ago, would you say you are better off financially, worse off financially, or about the same?"

Q.8a What do you personally worry about more -- that prices will go up, or that you or a family member will become unemployed?

52	Prices
39	Unemployment
7	Neither (VOL)
2	Don't know (VOL)
100	

Q.9 Do you think the chances are high, low or almost zero that some time in the next 12 months an adult in your family will be out of work and actively looking for a job?

27	High
28	Low
30	Almost zero
5	Someone out of work now (VOL)
6	Retired (VOL)
4	Don't know/No answer
100	

Q.10 Which one of the following do you have the most difficulty affording?

19	The cost of housing
9	The cost of an automobile
11	The cost of food, clothing and other regular expenses
31	The cost of health care
7	The cost of retirement or,
18	The cost of a college education
4	None (VOL)
1	Don't know (VOL)
100	

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.11 I'd like your opinion of some types of candidates who are considering running for office. As I read a description tell me, if you think that such a person generally sounds like someone who would make a good candidate for Congress.

(READ DESCRIPTION)

Does such a person sound like a very good candidate, a fairly good candidate or not a good candidate?

	Very Good Candidate	Fairly Good Candidate	Not a Good Candidate	Don't Know
Form 1 a. A 45 year old woman who has headed a public health agency for 10 years and has been closely involved with Planned Parenthood	22	51	22	5=100
Form 2 a. A 45 year old man who has headed a public health agency for 10 years and has been closely involved with Planned Parenthood	16	55	23	6=100
Form 1 b. A 35 year old woman who has worked as a public defender and the head of a local environmental commission	24	50	20	6=100
Form 2 b. A 35 year old man who has worked as a public defender and the head of a local environmental commission	17	51	27	5=100
Form 1 c. A business executive who was named man of the year by the Chamber of Commerce for his commitment to community service	27	46	21	6=100
Form 2 c. A business executive who was named woman of the year by the Chamber of Commerce for her commitment to community service	37	42	17	4=100

Q.12 I am going to read some statements that candidates may be making next year in the election campaign. For each statement tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is ...

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
a. Drugs should be legalized to take the profits out of drug dealing	7	9	19	63	2=100
b. It's time for a younger generation of leaders to take over in Washington	24	38	24	10	4=100
c. The Gulf War showed that the U.S. can still unite and accomplish things	49	35	7	6	3=100
d. There should be a limit on how many terms a person can serve in Congress	55	25	10	8	2=100
e. The country would be better off if there were more women serving in Congress in the future	31	38	16	8	7=100
f. The policies of Ronald Reagan and George Bush helped speed the end of communism in Russia	18	38	19	14	11=100
g. Taxes should be increased for people who earn $100,000 a year or more	47	27	12	11	3=100
FORM 1 h. Government should play an active role in improving healthcare, housing and education for middle income families	52	32	10	4	2=100
FORM 2 h. Government should play an active role in improving healthcare, housing and education for lower income families	53	35	7	4	1=100

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
i. It's time that people in this country become less greedy and care more about the less fortunate	60	29	6	4	1=100
j. American jobs should be protected from foreign competition	53	27	12	5	3=100
k. We should stop reducing the quantity and quality of needed government services such as police, hospitals and roads and highway repairs	30	23	18	26	3=100
l. A woman's right to decide about abortion should be preserved	55	19	8	15	3=100
m. The government should worry more about the problems of middle class people and less about the problems of poor people	9	17	33	36	5=100
n. The government should guarantee that everyone is covered by health insurance	53	29	10	6	2=100

ON A DIFFERENT TOPIC ...

Q.13 Which ONE of the following, if any, has had the greatest effect on your political beliefs? **(READ LIST, RE-READ IF NECESSARY)**

Q.14 And which would you name next? **(RE-READ LIST IF NECESSARY)**

	The War in the Gulf
26	Highest
18	Second
	The Saving & Loan Crisis
17	Highest
13	Second
	The end of Communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union
12	Highest
16	Second
	The Clarence Thomas - Anita Hill Controversy
14	Highest
13	Second
	The Supreme Court decision that allows states to restrict abortion
12	Highest
14	Second

Q.14a Do you happen to know in what year the War in the Gulf ended?

87	Yes
13	No/Don't know - SKIP TO Q.15
100	

Q.14b Which year?

76	1991
10	1990
*	Earlier than 1990
14	Don't know/No answer
100	

Q.15 If it turns out that less money will be spent on defense than in the past because of reduced tensions between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, which ONE of the following should we do with the money we save on defense? (READ LIST)

10 Use it for a tax cut

27 Use it to reduce the budget deficit, or

61 Use it for increased spending on domestic programs such as health, education and the environment

2 Don't know

100

Q.16 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)**

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does	22	28	28	21	1=100
b. Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly	41	43	11	4	1=100
c. Most elected officials care what people like me think	7	29	39	23	2=100
d. Voting gives people like me some say about how the government runs things	32	42	15	9	2=100
e. Hard work offers little guarantee of success	20	24	29	25	2=100
f. The strength of this country today is mostly based on the success of American business	29	47	15	6	3=100
g. When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful	32	36	23	7	2=100
h. The federal government controls too much of our daily lives	32	31	28	7	2=100
i. The government is really run for the benefit of all the people	11	37	34	16	2=100

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
j. Business corporations generally strike a fair balance between making profits and serving the public interest	8	32	38	19	3=100
k. There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies	41	39	14	3	3=100
l. Business corporations make too much profit	29	36	23	7	5=100
m. It is time for Washington politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders	32	45	16	4	3=100
n. As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want	19	49	22	8	2=100
o. I don't believe that there are any real limits to growth in this country today	24	38	26	9	3=100
p. Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed	64	30	3	2	1=100
q. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country	16	22	32	27	3=100
r. The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt	20	31	31	15	3=100
s. The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep	41	32	16	9	2=100
t. I don't pay attention to whether a candidate calls himself a liberal or a conservative	31	33	18	14	4=100

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
u. I am very patriotic	58	33	5	2	2=100
v. In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country	17	28	33	16	6=100
w. I think it's all right for blacks and whites to date each other	35	31	12	18	4=100
x. We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment	10	20	33	34	3=100
y. It is my belief that we should get even with any country that tries to take advantage of the United States	21	24	31	20	4=100
z. The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	21	31	29	16	3=100
aa. American lives are worth more than the lives of people in other countries	11	12	28	46	3=100
bb. We all should be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong	30	30	21	16	3=100
cc. It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs	54	38	4	2	2=100

Q.17 I'd like your opinion of some people and organizations. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. First, would you describe your opinion of (ITEM) as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

	Very Favor-able	Mostly Favor-able	Mostly Unfavor-able	Very Unfavor-able	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
a. George Bush	25	46	17	9	0	3=100
May, 1990	24	52	15	7	0	2=100
January, 1989	24	54	9	4		9=100
*October, 1988	23	35	20	17		5=100
*September, 1988	19	40	20	17		4=100
*August, 1988	25	40	18	12		5=100
May, 1988	11	40	25	17		7=100
January, 1988	11	41	26	13		9=100
September, 1987	18	51	19	8		4=100
May, 1987	11	56	19	7		7=100
b. Dan Quayle	9	40	28	15	1	7=100
May, 1990	6	41	24	15	4	10=100
*October, 1988	10	33	21	24	*	12=100
*September, 1988	9	32	17	15	2	25=100
*August, 1988	12	38	19	9	2	20=100
c. Mario Cuomo	13	37	14	7	17	12=100
May, 1990	9	28	12	5	30	16=100
d. Paul Tsongas	3	21	11	3	40	22=100
e. Douglas Wilder	4	25	11	3	35	22=100
f. Bob Kerrey	5	24	8	2	41	20=100
g. Tom Harkin	3	24	10	2	38	23=100
h. Bill Clinton	5	25	8	2	39	21=100
i. Jesse Jackson	12	44	25	13	1	5=100
May, 1990	12	38	23	22	1	4=100
May, 1988	11	35	27	19	1	7=100
September, 1987	12	37	26	19	*	6=100
May, 1987	13	38	24	17	2	6=100
j. The Supreme Court	18	54	16	5	0	7=100
May, 1990	10	55	18	7	1	9=100
January, 1988	14	65	11	2	*	8=100
May, 1987	13	63	15	2	*	7=100

*Based on registered voters

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
k. The Congress	7	44	34	9	0	6=100
May, 1990	6	53	25	9	1	6=100
May, 1988	8	56	23	5	0	8=100
January, 1988	6	58	25	4	0	7=100
May, 1987	10	64	16	4	*	6=100
January, 1987	7	52	23	8	0	10=100
June, 1985	9	58	21	5	*	7=100
l. The daily newspaper you are most familiar with	24	56	11	5	0	4=100
March, 1991	30	55	7	3	*	5=100
May, 1990	22	56	12	5	*	5=100
August, 1989	25	52	12	5		6=100
January, 1989	22	56	13	4		5=100
*August, 1988	30	48	10	5		7=100
May, 1988	19	59	13	4		5=100
January 27, 1988	19	62	11	3		5=100
January 7-18, 1988	21	59	12	4		4=100
October, 1987	21	58	9	4		8=100
May, 1987	22	59	12	3		4=100
January, 1987	19	57	13	6		5=100
July, 1986	28	51	11	6		4=100
August, 1985	25	52	10	5		8=100
June, 1985	25	56	8	3		8=100
m. Network TV news	24	51	16	5	0	4=100
March, 1991	40	51	5	2	0	2=100
May, 1990	22	60	12	3	*	3=100
August, 1989	28	54	11	3		4=100
January, 1989	21	61	12	3		3=100
*August, 1988	29	52	9	5		5=100
May, 1988	20	58	14	4		4=100
January 27, 1988	12	69	13	3		3=100
January 7-18, 1988	18	60	14	4		4=100
October, 1987	19	62	10	3		6=100
May, 1987	21	63	11	3		2=100
January, 1987	19	55	16	6		4=100
July, 1986	30	53	10	4		3=100
August, 1985	30	51	8	2		7=100
June, 1985	25	59	8	2		6=100

*Based on registered voters

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
n. The CIA	8	42	26	9	0	15=100
May, 1990	8	40	22	11	1	18=100
May, 1987	5	35	35	11	*	14=100
January, 1987	6	32	23	11	0	28=100
July, 1986	7	43	18	6	1	25=100
June, 1985	7	42	23	10	2	16=100
o. Business corporations	8	57	22	6	0	7=100
January, 1988	6	53	27	5	*	9=100
June, 1985	8	50	24	7	1	10=100
p. The women's movement	19	52	16	6	0	7=100
June, 1985	19	44	19	11	1	6=100
q. David Duke	1	11	17	32	28	11=100

Q.18 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
a. Prayer is an important part of my daily life	50	30	13	6	1=100
b. I never doubt the existence of God	71	17	8	3	1=100
c. School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals	23	16	28	28	5=100
d. Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	29	20	20	28	3=100
e. Women should return to their traditional role in society	10	13	26	49	2=100
f. I have old-fashioned values about family and marriage	49	32	10	8	1=100
g. There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation	42	34	13	9	2=100
h. Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer	45	35	13	5	2=100
i. I can usually tell whether I'll have a lot in common with someone by knowing how much education he or she has	10	22	40	27	1=100
j. I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	27	24	32	16	1=100

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
k. Money is one of my most important concerns	23	29	29	18	1=100
l. I'm pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for me financially	16	41	26	16	1=100
m. I feel it's my duty as a citizen to always vote	72	21	4	2	1=100
n. I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs	46	44	7	2	1=100
o. I'm generally bored by what goes on in Washington	16	36	30	16	2=100
p. I'm pretty interested in following local politics	29	48	16	5	2=100
q. Most issues discussed in Washington don't affect me personally	8	25	41	23	3=100
r. I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote	46	28	14	8	4=100
s. Sometimes I vote for a candidate without really knowing enough about him or her	18	36	22	22	2=100

Q.19 How often would you say you vote -- always, nearly always, part of the time, or seldom?

38	Always
37	Nearly always
13	Part of the time
9	Seldom
0	Other (SPECIFY)
3	Never vote
*	Don't know/no answer
100	

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Times Mirror
Center for
The People &
The Press

NEWS

1875 Eye Street, N.W. Suite 1110
Washington, D.C. 20006
202 293 3126

FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, JANUARY 16, 1992, A.M.

The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92:

The Politics of the Economy

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Dem Candidate Leads Bush On Economic Issues (48% to 39%)
AMERICANS WANT BUSH CALL FOR PUBLIC WORKS/JOBS PROGRAM

With the State of the Union Address days away, a majority of the American people (52 percent) want President George Bush to call for a public works program to put the unemployed back to work as their first choice to revitalize the economy. President Bush's job approval rating continues to drop (46%) as he fails, thus far, to convince the American public that he is doing all he can to improve the economy. The Republican party's image is also being hurt by the current climate of opinion. Recent efforts notwithstanding, fully 76% of the public thinks the President could be doing more to improve economic conditions, while only 21% think he is doing as much as he can. Even a 64% majority of Republicans think the President is not doing enough to mend the economy.

Teflon No More

The results of a series of probing free response questions in the latest ***Times Mirror*** survey indicates that public blame for the recession is principally directed at the President who has thus far been unsuccessful in convincing the public that the Democrats in Congress should also be held accountable.

Bush and Reagan are assigned even more of the blame by people who have the darkest view of economic conditions. Substantially more than a third of the public (38%) believes that the economy is in a depression that will last a long time while a 51% majority feel that the country is in a recession that will pass fairly soon. Among people who see depression, 34% volunteered that Bush or Reagan were to blame, while only 23% of people who think the country is in a recession hold them accountable.

The recession is taking a heavy toll on the image of the Republican party. In May of 1990, the public was evenly divided over whether the Democratic party (30%) or the Republican party (29%) could do a better job of handling the nation's most important problem. In the current survey, Times Mirror's respondents preferred the Democratic party 41% to 32%.

Perhaps more significantly, the perception that the GOP is superior to the Democratic party for economic management appears to have all but withered away. In May of 1990, a 41% to 25% plurality thought the Republican party could do a better job than the Democrats of making America competitive in the world economy. Today, about as many choose the Democratic party (38%) as choose the Republican party (41%) for this key attribute.

Over this same period the Democratic party's advantage over the GOP for protecting jobs has swollen 10 percentage points (49 to 30% vs. 40 to 30% in 1990).

In fact, the current survey shows the Democratic party improving its image in seven out of the eight performance areas tested. The Republican party has made gains in only one area, making wise decisions about the new situation in Eastern Europe and Russia. Its advantage over the Democratic party increased to a 52% to 24% plurality (from 39% to 20%). ***See Table I.***

While the current survey continues to show the President in a virtual dead heat when matched against an unnamed Democrat, a 48% to 39% plurality of the public believes that a Democratic candidate could do a better job than George Bush of creating good economic conditions for people like them. This is the prevailing view among key independent groups that the President will have to rely on to ensure a victory in November.

Among the ***Disaffecteds**** who gave Bush equivocal support over Dukakis in 1988, a 49% to 34% plurality have more confidence that a Democratic candidate will look out for their economic interests. More surprisingly, many younger, Republican leaning Independents also feel that a Democratic candidate might better serve their pocketbooks. Among ***Upbeats****, who voted overwhelmingly for Bush, only 42% think that President Bush would do a better job of creating good economic conditions for people like them, while almost as many (38%) put more faith in an unnamed Democratic candidate. ***See Table II.***

When asked who is most responsible for the current economic conditions, 26% volunteer Bush or Reagan and 14% cite the Congress. When the latter response is probed, 10% of respondents said they had neither party in mind when they mentioned the Congress, while only 3% said they were thinking of the Democrats in Congress and 1% point to congressional Republicans. Another 3% volunteered that the Republicans in general are responsible for economic conditions and 1% the Democrats. ***See Table III.***

****For a description of the Times Mirror Typology groups, see the Methodology section on pp. 10-12.***

TABLE I

WHICH POLITICAL PARTY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY DO YOU THINK COULD DO A BETTER JOB OF:

	Republican	*Democrat*	*(VOL) Neither*	*DK*
a. Improving our educational system	28	48	10	14=100
May, 1990	30	42	14	14=100
b. Representing your views on abortion	29	39	11	21=100
August, 1990	30	40	12	18=100
c. Protecting U.S. jobs	30	49	8	13=100
May, 1990	30	40	16	14=100
d. Improving health care in the U.S.	21	56	8	15=100
May, 1990	20	50	16	14=100
e. Reducing crime	32	32	18	18=100
h. Making America competitive in the world economy	41	38	7	14=100
May, 1990	41	25	17	17=100
l. Dealing with the problem of the homeless	20	56	9	15=100
May, 1990	15	52	21	12=100
[1]*m. Making wise decisions about the new situation in Eastern Europe and Russia*	52	24	6	18=100
May, 1990	39	20	16	25=100

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[1] In 1990 the question was asked, "Making wise decisions about the new situation in Eastern and Central Europe."

TABLE II

WHO DO YOU THINK WOULD DO THE BEST JOB OF CREATING ECONOMIC CONDITIONS FOR PEOPLE LIKE YOU, GEORGE BUSH OR A DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE?

	Democrat	*Not sure*	*Bush*	*N=*
TOTAL	39	48	13 =100	1220
Sex				
Male	44	47	9 =100	612
Female	35	49	16 =100	608
Age				
18-29	42	50	8 =100	275
30-49	41	45	14 =100	511
50+	34	51	15 =100	429
Race				
White	41	45	14 =100	1065
Black	20	76	4 =100	93
Family Income				
$50K+	56	35	9 =100	259
$30-49,999K	42	43	15 =100	310
$20-29,999K	39	52	9 =100	237
>$20K	28	59	13 =100	336
Party ID				
Republicans	77	14	9 =100	367
Democrats	12	81	7 =100	357
Independents	35	48	17 =100	443
Region				
East	35	50	15 =100	304
Midwest	39	51	10 =100	352
South	42	46	12 =100	385
West	41	46	13 =100	179

TABLE III

WHO DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CURRENT ECONOMIC SITUATION?

	Bush	*Reagan*	*Congress*[2]	*Con. Dems*	*Con. Reps*	*Wall St./ Bus.*	*All Other*	*Don't know*	*N=*
TOTAL	20	6	14	3	1	2	30	24=100	1220
Sex									
Men	17	8	17	3	1	2	33	19=100	612
Women	23	5	11	2	1	2	27	29=100	608
Age									
18-29	22	7	8	2	*	2	27	32=100	275
30-49	18	7	14	2	*	3	37	19=100	511
50+	21	5	17	4	2	2	23	26=100	429
Race									
White	18	7	15	3	1	2	30	24=100	1065
Black	39	4	7	1	0	3	20	26=100	93
Family Income									
$50K+	13	9	16	5	0	4	34	19=100	259
$30-49,999	14	6	18	3	*	2	36	21=100	310
$20-29,999	22	6	14	3	1	3	24	27=100	237
>$20K	28	4	9	1	2	2	28	26=100	336
Party ID									
Republican	9	4	21	6	*	3	28	29=100	367
Democrat	30	8	10	1	2	2	26	21=100	357
Independent	18	7	12	1	*	2	37	23=100	443

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[2] Respondents who said "Congress" were asked which party they had in mind when they gave that answer. The resulting three categories of response are shown in the table. The first category represents people who had neither party in mind. The second represents those who were thinking of the Democrats in Congress and the third those who had the Congressional Republicans in mind.

Jobs Key Indicator to Public

Americans see the loss of jobs to foreign competition as the thing that worries them most about future economic conditions. Fifty percent say these job losses troubled them the most about the country's future, 20% said they worried most about the financial shape of state and local governments and 16% named the condition of the banks and other financial institutions. Only 2% said they worried most about the decline in real estate prices.

When the question was rephrased asking people what most worries them about their ***own*** future there was less of a focus on jobs lost to foreign competition (31%) and somewhat more expressed concern about the condition of the banks (21%). Worry about the decline in real estate prices rose to only 6%, but was as high as 11% among upper income home owners.

Reflecting these concerns, 52% of respondents in the survey said they would like to hear President Bush announce a public works program for the unemployed. The second most frequently mentioned choice was a cut in the capital gains tax; 17% chose this option. Eight percent preferred a one time $300 income tax rebate, 7% a cut in social security taxes, and 7% allowing first time home buyers to withdraw money from their IRA's.

Preference for a public works program for the unemployed was even overwhelming among fiscally conservative ***Enterpriser Republicans*** who chose this option over a cut in the capital gains tax by a margin of 45% to 19%.

Seniors Vexed by Fed Cut

By a margin of three to one the public at large saw the Federal Reserve's cutting lending rates as good news (61%), not bad news (21%). But opinion about the measure is closely related to age. Seventy-two percent of those under 50 years of age liked the Fed's action, while among people 65 years of age and older opinion broke against the measure - 43% saw it as bad news and only 32% saw the cut as good news.

Despite the Fed action and attendant stock market rally, the survey finds no significant changes in the perceived financial condition of the public. As in November, Times Mirror's respondents divided about evenly between those who see themselves as better off compared to four years ago versus those who think they are now worse off. Also as in the previous survey, three in ten said there was a high chance that in the next 12 months someone within their household would be out of work. Fifty-three percent said they expected their finances to be bettered by this time next year, while 24% expected their financial situation to worsen over the next 12 months. These expectations were about the same as found in Times Mirror's November 1991 poll.

Although financial attitudes have not further deteriorated over the past two months, public discontent with the state of the nation has continued to increase and presidential approval has continued to go down.

Since November the percentage who say they approve of the way George Bush is handling his job has fallen from 55% to 46% and the percent of the public saying they are satisfied with the way things are going in the country fell from 34% to 28%.

In the current survey, the President achieves majority approval from only a few sectors of the public: College graduates (51%), people under 30 (55%) and in the South (53%).

Since November Bush's ratings have taken the biggest tumble among political independents, falling from 54% to 39%. This slide has been most pronounced among ***Disaffected*** voters and among ***Seculars***, who are generally liberal independent voters. Bush's rating has fallen far less among ***Upbeats***, who are younger independent voters with moderate political attitudes.

	Percent Approve Of Bush:		*Diff in*
	November 91	*January 92*	*%Pts.*
Party Identification			
Republicans	82	78	- 4
Democrats	32	26	- 6
Independents	54	39	-15
Typology Independents			
Upbeats	67	60	- 7
Disaffecteds	51	35	-16
Seculars	37	21	-16

Although President Bush's approval rating has fallen further in the past two months, the Times Mirror survey continues to find respondents dividing their support equally between George Bush and an unnamed Democratic challenger - 42% chose each when questioned about their November preferences.

The public is far less equivocal when asked about their preferences in specific job performance areas. By a margin of 61% to 25% the public thinks that a Democratic candidate would do a better job of improving health care in the U.S. than would George Bush. On the other hand the public has more confidence in George Bush than his Democratic challengers to make wise decisions about Eastern Europe and Russia by exactly the same margin - 61% to 25%!

Clinton Has Highest Favorability Ratings

While most Americans are still not familiar enough to render the most basic of judgments about the Democratic challengers, Bill Clinton achieves the best rating of the five Democratic candidates when favorability scores are computed on the basis of those who can rate the candidates.

The survey also finds that Pat Buchanan is known to most, but not nearly all citizens. However, David Duke has become known to and disliked by almost the entire public.

BASED ON THOSE WHO CAN RATE

	Favorable	*Unfavorable*	*% Who Could Rate*
George Bush	64	36	98
Paul Tsongas	52	48	46
Douglas Wilder	51	49	49
Robert Kerrey	64	36	50
Tom Harkin	59	41	49
Bill Clinton	71	29	52
Jerry Brown	51	49	75
David Duke	14	86	88
Pat Buchanan	52	48	63

Both Pat Buchanan and David Duke get higher than average favorability scores among ***Moralist Republicans*** who are familiar with them. David Duke also gets better than average ratings from ***Disaffecteds***. Twenty-one percent of Disaffecteds who are aware of the former Klansman rate him favorably.

RATED EACH FAVORABLY
(Among those who could rate each)

	Buchanan	***Duke***
Enterprisers	55	8
Moralists	63	19
Upbeats	39	3
Disaffecteds	53	21

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among a nationally representative sample of 1,220 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period of January 3 - 7, 1992. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE TIMES MIRROR TYPOLOGY

In 1987 Times Mirror developed a unique voter classification scheme that divided the electorate on the basis of political values, party identification and measures of political participation. Since its inception Times Mirror has conducted numerous nationwide surveys using this political typology, the most recent of which was reported in ***THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS & POLITICS - 1990***. The typology was developed for administration by personal interview in that it requires about 15 minutes of interviewing time to ask the full battery of questions.

Over the past year the ***Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press*** has developed a modified form of the Times Mirror Typology that is suitable for telephone interviewing in that it requires many fewer questions. It also divides the public into fewer groups (9 vs. 11) and therefore can be used with more limited sample size surveys. It is our intention to utilize the modified typology scheme on each of our pre-election surveys in 1992. While this form of the typology does not offer the full analytical richness of the original scheme, we think it continues to be an important and highly useful way of looking at the electorate.

The modified typology is based on the important concepts about the homogeneity of various voting groups that we uncovered in our earlier research. There are two core Republican groups - Enterprisers and Moralists. ***Enterprisers*** are fiscal conservatives, who hold positive attitudes toward business and are anti-welfarist. They are affluent, well-educated and well-informed. ***Moralists***, are highly religious, socially conservative and show low levels of concern for personal freedoms. They are less affluent, older and many live in the South.

There are three core Democratic groups. ***Sixties Democrats*** are strong believers in social justice, are adverse to the use of military force and experience low financial pressure. Sixties Democrats are a heavily female, middle class, middle aged group that supports most of the policy positions of the national Democratic party.

New Dealers also do not experience a lot of financial pressure, but they are advocates of a tough defense policy and are socially conservative. Drawn heavily from the South, the roots of these Democrats who defected in some numbers to Reagan and Bush go all the way back to FDR's presidency. ***Pocketbook Democrats*** are very concerned with social justice and the government taking a more active role in the solution of the social and economic problems these people face on a day to day basis. Many minority members, poor people and people with less than a high school education are Pocketbook Dems.

There are three typology groups who are basically Independent. ***Seculars*** lean to the Democratic party; however some identify more closely with the GOP. They are strongly supportive of personal freedoms and profess no religious belief. Seculars are well informed, relatively affluent and more often found in the East and on the West Coast.

Two Independent groups lean to the Republican party. ***Disaffecteds*** are personally alienated, financially pressured and deeply skeptical of politicians. This middle aged, lower middle income group contains many blue collar workers. ***Upbeats*** are also independents who lean to the GOP, but their attitudinal profile is almost the opposite of Disaffecteds. Upbeats contain many young people who tend to be uncritical of government and other institutions. They also have American Exceptionalist values, believing that Americans can always solve their problems and there are no limits to this country's power.

The final group in the Times Mirror typology are ***Bystanders*** who reflect an almost total lack of interest in politics and public affairs. This urban, lower socio-economic group contains many young singles.

The table below shows the percentage of the survey respondents in each typology group for this survey.

	PERCENT
Enterprisers	13
Moralists	12
Upbeats	9
Disaffecteds	16
Bystanders	8
Seculars	8
60's Democrats	7
New Dealers	5
Pocketbook Dems.	14
Unclassified	7

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS

POLITICAL SURVEY II - NATIONAL
JANUARY 3-6, 1991
N=1,220

SEX: 1[ ]Male 2[ ]Female

INTERVIEWER'S NAME: ____________

TIME STARTED: ____________

INTERVIEWER'S I.D.: ____________

TIME FINISHED: ____________

PAGE NUMBER: ____________

LENGTH: ____________

REPLICATE NUMBER: ____________

REGION:
1 East
2 Midwest
3 South
4 West

STRATUM:
1 Stratum One
2 Stratum Two
3 Remainder

DATE: ____________

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am ____________ calling for the Princeton Survey Research Associates from Princeton, New Jersey. We are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

		NEWS INTEREST INDEX						
		Nov 1991	Oct 1991	July 1991	May 1991	March 1991	Jan 25 1991	Jan 3 1991
46	Approve	55	61	67	77	84	79	59
43	Disapprove	33	28	23	16	10	14	24
11	Don't know	12	10	10	7	6	7	17
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.6 Would you like to see George Bush re-elected President in November or would you prefer that a Democratic candidate win the election?

	Total Respondents		Registered Voters	
	Jan. 1992	Nov. 1991	Jan. 1992	Nov. 1991
Bush re-elected	42	41	41	41
Prefer Democrat	42	43	45	44
Not sure (VOL)	16	16	14	15
	100	100	100	100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.7 What is the most important problem facing the country today?

		May 1990	1989	1987
43	Economy	5	4	10
22	Unemployment/ Lack of jobs	7	9	13
6	Homelessness	8	10	*
5	Recession/ Depression	*	*	*
4	Drugs/ Alcohol	11	22	37
4	Deficit/Balanced budget	11	19	11
3	Morality/Ethics/ Family Values	5	2	5
3	Crime/Gangs/ Justice system	8	8	3
2	Health care (cost, accessibility)	2	*	*
2	Trade deficit/ Trade relations	1	1	3
2	Hunger	1	*	*
76	Net economic			
2	Don't know/No answer			

Q.8 Who do you think can do a better job of handling the problem you just mentioned -- the Republican party or the Democratic party?

		May 1990	May 1988	Jan. 1988	May 1987
32	Republican	29	26	30	28
41	Democrat	30	38	35	38
12	No difference (VOLUNTEERED)	31	22	24	24
15	Don't know	10	14	11	10
100		100	100	100	100

Q.9 In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the U.S. at this time?

		Nov 1991	May 1990	Jan. 1989	Oct. 1988	May 1988	Jan. 1988
28	Satisfied	34	41	45	56	41	39
68	Dissatisfied	61	54	50	40	54	55
4	Don't know	5	5	5	4	5	6
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.10 Thinking about your own situation, compared to 4 years ago, would you say that you are better off financially today or worse off financially today?

		Nov 1991	[3]May 1987
45	Better off	40	48
41	Worse off	43	20
13	Same (VOL)	16	31
1	Don't know (VOL)	1	1
100		100	100

---

[3] In 1987 the questioned was asked, "Compared to five years ago, would you say you are better off financially, worse off financially, or about the same?"

Q.11 Now looking ahead, do you expect that at this time next year you will be financially better off than now, or worse off than now?

		Nov 1991	May 1990	Jan. 1989	May 1988	Jan. 1988
53	Better	49	44	54	54	46
24	Worse	26	24	15	10	18
16	Same (VOL)	17	27	28	31	30
7	Don't know (VOL)	8	5	3	5	6
100		100	100	100	100	100

Q.12 Do you think the chances are high, low or almost zero that sometime in the next 12 months an adult in your family will be out of work and actively looking for a job?

		Nov 1991
30	High	27
25	Low	28
31	Almost zero	30
6	Someone out of work now (VOL)	5
4	Retired (VOL)	6
4	Don't know/ No answer	4
100		100

Q.13 Based on your own impressions of economic conditions would you say news organizations have been too positive or too negative or about right in the way they have reported news about the economy?

12	Too positive
28	Too negative
55	About right
5	Can't say
100	

Q.14 How would you describe economic conditions would you say the economy is now recovering, or that we are in a recession that will pass fairly soon or that we are in an economic depression that will last a long time?

7	Recovery
51	Recession
38	Depression
4	Can't say
100	

Q.15 Who do you think is most responsible for the current economic situation: **DO NOT READ LIST** And who would you name second?

	George Bush
20	First choice
12	Second choice
	Ronald Reagan
6	First choice
2	Second choice
	[4]Congress Both/Neither party
10	First choice
7	Second choice
	Democrats in Congress
3	First choice
1	Second choice
	Republicans in Congress
1	First choice
1	Second choice
	The Democrats
1	First choice
1	Second choice
	The Republicans
3	First choice
3	Second choice

---

[4] If respondent answered '12' Congress in Q.15 they were asked: Are you thinking of the Democrats in Congress, the Republicans in Congress or neither party in particular?

Q.15 **CONTINUED....**

	Wall Street, the Banks, financial institutions
2	First choice
2	Second choice
	Business Corporations
3	First choice
5	Second choice
	Foreign trade/Foreign interests
2	First choice
2	Second choice
	Government/Politicians
8	First choice
3	Second choice
	People/The public/Consumers
6	First choice
2	Second choice
	Other
3	First choice
5	Second choice

Q.17 Which, if any of the following most worries you about future economic conditions in this country:

16	The condition of the banks and other financial institutions
50	Jobs lost to foreign competition
2	The decline in real estate prices
20	The financial shape of state and local governments
OR?	
5	Other
2	None
5	Can't say
100	

Q.17a Which, if any, of the following most worries you about your own future?

21 The financial condition of the banks and other financial institutions

31 The number of jobs lost to foreign competition

6 The decline in real estate prices

23 The financial condition of state and local governments

4 Other

10 None

5 Can't say
100

Q.18 In your opinion, is President Bush doing as much as he can to improve economic conditions or do you think he could be doing more?

21 Doing all he can

76 Could be doing more

3 Can't say
100

Q.19 Which one of the following would you most like to hear the President announce as a plan to improve economic conditions **(READ LIST - ROTATE)** Which second?

A one time $300 income tax rebate
8 First choice
14 Second choice

A public works program for the unemployed
52 First choice
16 Second choice

A cut in Social Security taxes
7 First choice
15 Second choice

Q.19 **CONTINUED...**

	Allowing first time home buyers to withdraw money from their IRA's
7	First choice
19	Second choice
	A cut in the capital gains tax
17	First choice
19	Second choice
	None **(DO NOT READ)**
3	First choice
3	Second choice
	Don't know **(DO NOT READ)**
6	First choice
6	Second choice

Q.19a As you may have heard, recently the Federal Reserve has lowered interest rates significantly. All in all, is this mostly good news for you or is this mostly bad news for you?

61	Good news
21	Bad news
18	Don't know
100	

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT, I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POLITICAL PARTIES

Q.20 Which political party - the Republican Party or the Democratic party - do you think could do a better job of: **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM BELOW - ROTATE)**

	Republican	Democrat	(VOL) Neither	DK
a. Improving our educational system	28	48	10	14=100
May, 1990	30	42	14	14=100
b. Representing your views on abortion	29	39	11	21=100
August, 1990	30	40	12	18=100
c. Protecting U.S. jobs	30	49	8	13=100
May, 1990	30	40	16	14=100
d. Improving health care in the U.S.	21	56	8	15=100
May, 1990	20	50	16	14=100
e. Reducing crime	32	32	18	18=100
h. Making America competitive in the world economy	41	38	7	14=100
May, 1990	41	25	17	17=100
l. Dealing with the problem of the homeless	20	56	9	15=100
May, 1990	15	52	21	12=100
[5]m. Making wise decisions about the new situation in Eastern Europe and Russia	52	24	6	18=100
May, 1990	39	20	16	25=100

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[5] In 1990 the question was asked, "Making wise decisions about the new situation in Eastern and Central Europe."

Q.21 I'd like your opinion of some people and organizations. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. First, would you describe your opinion of **(ITEM)** as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

	Very Favor-able	Mostly Favor-able	Mostly Unfavor-able	Very Unfavor-able	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
a. George Bush	20	43	22	13	0	2=100
November, 1991	25	46	17	9	0	3=100
May, 1990	24	52	15	7	0	2=100
January, 1989	24	54	9	4		9=100
*October, 1988	23	35	20	17		5=100
*September, 1988	19	40	20	17		4=100
*August, 1988	25	40	18	12		5=100
May, 1988	11	40	25	17		7=100
January, 1988	11	41	26	13		9=100
September, 1987	18	51	19	8		4=100
May, 1987	11	56	19	7		7=100
d. Paul Tsongas	4	20	17	5	31	23=100
November, 1991	3	21	11	3	40	22=100
e. Douglas Wilder	5	20	16	8	26	25=100
November, 1991	4	25	11	3	35	22=100
f. Bob Kerrey	7	25	13	5	27	23=100
November, 1991	5	24	8	2	41	20=100
g. Tom Harkin	4	25	14	6	29	22=100
November, 1991	3	24	10	2	38	23=100
h. Bill Clinton	9	28	11	4	27	21=100
November, 1991	5	25	8	2	39	21=100
i. Jerry Brown	8	30	24	13	11	14=100
j. David Duke	3	9	18	58	5	7=100
November, 1991	1	11	17	32	28	11=100
k. Pat Buchanan	6	27	21	9	18	19=100

JUST A FEW MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT NEXT YEAR'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION....

Q.31 Regardless of who you might vote for, who do you think would do the best job of creating good economic conditions for people like you George Bush or a Democratic candidate?

39	Bush
48	Democrat
13	(DO NOT READ) Not sure
100	

Q.32 Who do you think would do the best job of improving health care in the U.S. George Bush or a Democratic candidate?

25	Bush
61	Democrat
14	(DO NOT READ) Not sure
100	

Q.33 Who do you think would do the best job of making wise decisions about the new situation in Eastern Europe and Russia George Bush or a Democratic candidate?

61	Bush
25	Democrat
14	(DO NOT READ) Not sure
100	

DO NOT ROTATE ITEMS:
Q.900

Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)**

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does	21	35	33	10	1=100
b. Most elected officials care what people like me think	7	37	38	16	2=100
c. Hard work offers little guarantee of success	16	25	35	21	3=100
d. The Federal Government controls too much of our daily lives	27	36	28	7	2=100
e. The government is really run for the benefit of all the people	8	35	40	15	2=100
f. There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies	32	46	16	3	3=100
g. As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want	11	47	31	9	2=100
h. Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed	53	38	6	2	1=100
i. The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt	18	36	28	14	4=100
j. The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	17	33	32	15	3=100

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
k. Prayer is an important part of my daily life	49	32	12	6	1=100
l. Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	27	18	24	28	3=100
m. There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation	27	43	16	11	3=100
n. Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer	39	38	17	4	2=100
o. I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	25	28	32	14	1=100
p. I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs	35	52	10	2	1=100
q. I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote	46	31	12	8	3=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT..

Q.901 How often would you say you vote -- always, nearly always, part of the time, or seldom?

40	Always
35	Nearly always
11	Part of the time
10	Seldom
0	Other **(VOLUNTEERED)**
4	Never vote **(VOLUNTEERED)**
*	Don't know/No answer
100	

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Center for
The People &
The Press

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FOR RELEASE: WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1992, A.M.

The People, The Press & Politics
Campaign '92:

New Hampshire And The Nation
A Comparative Survey
Of Political Values And Attitudes

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Only 17% Satisfied With Nation's Course

BUSH AND CLINTON TOP CHOICES OF GLOOMY NEW HAMPSHIRE VOTERS

In New Hampshire the President's approval ratings are in the thirties, satisfaction with the nation's course is in the teen's and nearly half the state's voters describe economic conditions as a depression. Yet, George Bush leads Pat Buchanan by a 66% to 20% margin among likely Republican voters, and the entire electorate divides evenly between George Bush and a nameless Democrat when questioned about its November voting intentions.

Part of the reason for Bush's relative strength may be that choosing a Democratic alternative is a challenging break of faith for many in a state where Republicans outnumber Democrats 2 to 1. The ***Times Mirror*** survey found 39% of New Hampshire voters registered as Republicans and 23% as Democrats. (Forty-eight percent of the sample said it would or might vote in the Republican primary, while 37% said it would or might vote in the Democratic primary).

But another factor in Bush's surprisingly strong position is the reluctance of New Hampshire voters to warm to the President's pugnacious Republican challenger. The survey finds large numbers of voters saying they don't like Pat Buchanan.

Although forty-two percent of all voters have a favorable impression of the former White House communications director, almost as many rate him unfavorably (40%). When the sample is narrowed to the 495 probable Republican primary voters interviewed in the Times Mirror survey, Buchanan's ratings are significantly improved - 50% favorable vs. 37% unfavorable. But the numbers suggest that after six weeks of the Buchanan campaign, from one third to 40% of those likely to vote in the Bush - Buchanan contest still have an unfavorable impression of the challenger.

In contrast, President Bush gets a resounding 80% favorable, 20% unfavorable rating from probable Republican primary voters. Bush's ratings are 60% favorable vs. 39% unfavorable among all New Hampshire voters.

Buchanan's lack of connection with New Hampshire Republicans is most evident among younger Republican voters, women, and voters in the rural, northern part of the state. In each of these groups nearly as many Republican voters hold unfavorable opinions as have favorable opinions of him.

Buchanan is best regarded by populist Republicans who are labeled ***Moralists**** in the ***Times Mirror Typology***. He gets a 58% favorability score from this group of social conservatives, compared with 48% among all other Republican primary voters.

For a description of the Times Mirror Typology groups, see the Methodology section on pp. 10-12.

Buchanan has yet to connect with a natural constituency: ***Disaffecteds**** who say they are likely to vote in the Republican primary. As many as 22% of this anti-establishment group are not familiar enough with Buchanan to rate him, and among those who do, 38% rate him favorably and 40% rate him unfavorably.

Given their values and attitudes, Disaffecteds and Moralists would seem to be Buchanan's best bets for future gains in support, while younger Republican Independents and ***Upbeats**** seem most committed to George Bush. Economically conservative ***Enterprisers**** are also, by and large, likely to remain Bush loyalists.

	Primary Choices Among Likely Republican Voters		
	Bush	*Buchanan*	*Other/ Undecided*
	%	%	%
Enterprisers	70	22	8
Moralists	63	24	13
Upbeats	77	13	10
Disaffecteds	58	22	20

On the Democratic side, Bill Clinton has pulled ahead of local favorite, Paul Tsongas by a 27% to 20% margin. Robert Kerrey and Jerry Brown poll 11% and 10%, respectively, among a sample of likely Democratic voters. Tom Harkin trails the field, with support from just 4% of the sampling. At the same time, however, more than a quarter (26%) of the 375 probable Democratic primary voters questioned say they have yet to make up their minds.

Clinton's strong showing in the poll results from the Arkansas Governor's somewhat greater appeal among male Democratic voters (32%) than among females (22%). Ironically, the youngest of the Democratic candidates also polls somewhat better among older Democrats than among younger voters (33% among those 50 and older).

Tsongas gets more support from the traditionally liberal voter (***60's Democrats**** and ***Seculars**** in the Times Mirror Typology), while Clinton has succeeded in getting a high level of support from financially driven and more socially conservative ***Pocketbook Democrats****.

For a description of the Times Mirror Typology groups, see the Methodology section on pp. 10-12.

Recognition and favorability scores for the Democratic candidates suggest Bob Kerrey stands the best chance of picking up ground in New Hampshire. He's as well known as Clinton and although his high favorability rating (80%) is slightly below Clinton's (87%), Kerrey is a notch ahead of Tsongas (77%) even though he currently runs substantially behind the two front runners as the choice for the party's nominee. Harkin has failed to make himself known to New Hampshire Democrats and doesn't get overwhelming ratings from those who do know him. Jerry's Brown's standing in the preference question is higher than his favorability ratings would suggest. Half of the Democratic primary voters questioned say they have an unfavorable opinion of the former California governor, who ties Kerrey for third place in the ballot test.

	BASED ON: DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY VOTERS WHO CAN RATE		
	Favorable	*Unfavorable*	*% Who Could Rate*
Paul Tsongas	77	23	85
Douglas Wilder	56	44	54
Robert Kerrey	80	20	74
Tom Harkin	69	31	60
Bill Clinton	87	13	72
Jerry Brown	50	50	83

Mood of the Electorate

New Hampshire voters have the same things on their mind as voters across the country, but opinions in New Hampshire are much more extreme on matters that relate to the economy. And most things that matter in New Hampshire relate to the economy.

George Bush's approval score is 37% in New Hampshire, compared with 46% nationwide. Bush gets a weak 56% approval rating from Republicans themselves, compared with a 78% rating from Republicans around the country. This underscores the extent to which the Buchanan campaign is so far failing to exploit the potential to meaningfully challenge Bush from within his own party.

Only 17% of New Hampshire voters are satisfied with the way things are going in the country. The last time a nationwide survey showed this level of basic discontent, Jimmy Carter was turning the reins of power over to Ronald Reagan (January 1981 - The Gallup Poll). Only 8% of Democrats express satisfaction with the way things are going in the country.

A 51% majority of New Hampshire voters say they are worse off financially than they were four years ago, compared to 41% nationwide. Even a 42% plurality of Republicans say they are worse off than they were four years ago. Among people who say they will vote for Bush next November, "***better off's***" outnumber "***worse offs***" 42% to 38%. And among those who prefer a Democrat, 62% are worse off, 23% are better off.

New Hampshire voters divide evenly between those who describe economic conditions as recession (43%) and those who see a depression (46%). Nationwide the balance of opinion is recession over depression (51% to 38%).

While employment is the top issue nationwide, it is even more of an overwhelming issue in New Hampshire. Nationally, 22% cite jobs as the most important problem facing the country. In New Hampshire 36% make that response. Interviewees in nationwide Times Mirror surveys name reducing unemployment (25%), improving education (22%) and improving healthcare (18%) about equally often as items that should be at the top of President Bush's agenda. In New Hampshire the priority given reducing unemployment (40%) dwarfs concerns about education (14%) and healthcare (15%).

As troubled as New Hampshire voters are about jobs these days, their economic concerns about the future are more diversified. Equal numbers of New Hampshire voters say they worry most about jobs lost to foreign competition (24%), the condition of the banks (25%) and the financial condition of state and local governments (24%). Somewhat fewer (10%) worry about declining real estate values.

Voters under 30 tend to worry more about jobs lost to foreign competition (38%) as do Disaffecteds (39%), while voters 65 & older worry more about the financial condition of the banks (36%).

Regardless of what voters worry about, they share a common view that President Bush is not now doing enough to improve economic conditions - 80% feel this way, while only 16% think he is doing all he can to improve the economy. New Hampshire voters are a little more generous with the President when it comes to assigning blame. 25% volunteer that Bush or Reagan is most responsible, but nearly as many (20%) point their finger at the Congress. When those who blame the Congress are asked who they have in mind most voters say they have neither party in particular in mind. Only 5% say they are thinking of the Democrats in Congress, while 1% blame the Republicans.

The insecurity of New Hampshire Republicans about their own party is more directly underscored in another way in the survey. When all voters are asked which party would do a better job of handling the most important problem facing the nation, 38% name the Democrats and 30% the Republicans. This is an anomalous result in a state where Republicans outnumber Democrats 2 to 1. However, it is a consequence of the fact that only 58% of Republicans say that they have more confidence in the Republican party than the Democrats to deal with this problem. In contrast, 81% of Democrats are loyal to their party in response to this question.

Economically conservative Enterpriser Republicans are more apt than other Republicans to name the GOP as the party best able to deal with the country's problems, but even at that only 64% say so. Nationally 78% of Enterprisers say they think the Republican party can do a better job than the Democratic party.

VOTER DISPOSITIONS

New Hampshire voters respond to the same themes and issue positions as voters in other parts of the country. There is considerable support for term limits, for the government playing a more activist role in improving the healthcare, housing and education for middle income families, and for guaranteeing universal health insurance. Majorities of New Hampshire voters favor protectionism and proposals to increase taxes for people who earn $100,000 or more a year. And they believe that the Gulf War showed that the U.S. can still unite and accomplish things.

However, compared to people in other parts of the country, New Hampshire voters are somewhat less likely to feel strongly that the war proved something positive about America. They are also less likely to give full support to protectionism. Nonetheless, large majorities do share these views with the rest of the nation.

New Hampshire voters are also more likely than the national public to agree that a woman's right to have an abortion should be preserved. 64% agree ***completely*** with this position compared to 55% nationwide.

Those who intend to vote for Bush rather than a Democrat in November are ***more*** likely to strongly favor term limits, but are less likely to favor taxing the rich and universal health insurance. However, the biggest attitudinal difference between the two groups regards what the Gulf War proved. 57% of Bush supporters completely agree that the Gulf War proved that the U.S. could unite and accomplish things, but only 27% of those intending to vote Democratic expressed that view - a 30% point difference.

Contrasting Bush supporters with Buchanan supporters among likely primary voters finds the challenger's supporters less likely than Bush Republicans to completely agree that the Gulf victory was an achievement that showed that Americans can still unite and accomplish things (42% vs. 56%). But, there is no difference in the number of Buchanan voters (38%) and Bush voters (39%) who completely agree with the need to protect American jobs.

Buchanan supporters, also expect more from the federal government. One half (50%) completely agree that the government should guarantee health insurance for all, compared with 37% of Bush supporters. And despite Buchanan's vehement anti-tax stance, two in five (41%) of his New Hampshire supporters completely agree that taxes should be raised for people earning over $100,000 per year, compared with only one third (33%) of Bush Republicans.

Buchanan Republicans show their social conservatism on the abortion issue: only 49% completely agree that a woman's right to an abortion should be preserved. By contrast, a strong majority of Bush voters (62%), despite his own anti-abortion position, completely agree that a woman's right to choose an abortion should be preserved.

% OF REPUBLICAN PRIMARY VOTERS WHO COMPLETELY AGREE

	Favor Bush	*Favor Buchanan*
Drugs should be legalized to take the profits out of drug dealing	3	4
Gulf War showed U.S. can still unite and accomplish things	56	42
There should be a limit on how many terms a person can serve in Congress	56	58
The country would be better off if there were more women serving in Congress	19	25
Policies of Bush/Reagan helped speed end of Communism	28	25
Taxes should be increased for people who earn $100,000 a year or more	33	41
Govt. should play an active role in improving health care, housing for mid. class	43	49
American jobs should be protected from foreign competition	39	38
Woman's right to abortion should be preserved	62	49
Govt. should guarantee that everyone is covered by health insurance	37	50

There are fewer differences between supporters of the two front runners among probable Democratic primary voters. However, people who say they are likely to vote for Tsongas are more likely than Clinton voters to feel that the country would benefit from more women in Congress (42% vs. 23%). Tsongas voters are also more cautious in their support of taxation. Only 46% say they favor increased taxes for those earning over $100,000 per year, compared with a solid two-thirds majority of Clinton supporters (60%) who favor such a measure.

% OF DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY VOTERS WHO COMPLETELY AGREE

	Favor Tsongas	*Favor Clinton*
Drugs should be legalized to take the profits out of drug dealing	4	5
Gulf War showed U.S. can still unite and accomplish things	36	31
There should be a limit on how many terms a person can serve in Congress	39	43
The country would be better off if there were more women serving in Congress	42	23
Policies of Bush/Reagan helped speed end of Communism	8	14
Taxes should be increased for people who earn $100,000 a year or more	46	60
Govt. should play an active role in improving health care, housing for mid. class	57	64
American jobs should be protected from foreign competition	39	40
Woman's right to abortion should be preserved	71	75
Govt. should guarantee that everyone is covered by health insurance	55	59

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among a nationally representative sample of 1,016 registered voters in the state of New Hampshire, during the period of January 9-12, 1992. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE TIMES MIRROR TYPOLOGY

In 1987 Times Mirror developed a unique voter classification scheme that divided the electorate on the basis of political values, party identification and measures of political participation. Since its inception Times Mirror has conducted numerous nationwide surveys using this political typology, the most recent of which was reported in ***THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS & POLITICS - 1990***. The typology was developed for administration by personal interview in that it requires about 15 minutes of interviewing time to ask the full battery of questions.

Over the past year the ***Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press*** has developed a modified form of the Times Mirror Typology that is suitable for telephone interviewing in as much as significantly fewer questions are required. It also divides the public into fewer groups (9 vs. 11) and therefore can be used with more limited sample size surveys. It is our intention to utilize the modified typology scheme on each of our pre-election surveys in 1992. While this form of the typology does not offer the full analytical richness of the original scheme, we think it continues to be an important and highly useful way of looking at the electorate.

The modified typology is based on the important concepts about the homogeneity of various voting groups that we uncovered in our earlier research. There are two core Republican groups - Enterprisers and Moralists. ***Enterprisers*** are fiscal conservatives, who hold positive attitudes toward business and are anti-welfarist. They are affluent, well-educated and well-informed. ***Moralists***, are highly religious, socially conservative and show low levels of concern for personal freedoms. They are less affluent, older and many live in the South.

There are three core Democratic groups. ***Sixties Democrats*** are strong believers in social justice, are adverse to the use of military force and experience low financial pressure. Sixties Democrats comprise a disproportionately female, middle class, middle aged group that supports most of the policy positions of the national Democratic party.

New Dealers also experience relatively low financial pressure. They have historically been advocates of a tough defense policy and are socially conservative. Drawn heavily from the South, the roots of these Democrats who defected in some numbers to Reagan and Bush go all the way back to FDR's presidency. ***Pocketbook Democrats*** are very concerned with social justice and the government taking a more active role in the solution of the social and economic problems these people face on a day to day basis. Many minority members, poor people and people with less than a high school education are Pocketbook Dems.

There are three typology groups who are basically Independent. ***Seculars*** lean to the Democratic party; however some identify more closely with the GOP. They are strongly supportive of personal freedoms and profess no religious belief. Seculars are well informed, relatively affluent and more often found in the East and on the West Coast.

Two Independent groups lean to the Republican party. ***Disaffecteds*** are personally alienated, financially pressured and deeply skeptical of politicians. This middle aged, lower middle income group contains many blue collar workers. ***Upbeats*** are also independents who lean to the GOP, but their attitudinal profile is almost the opposite of Disaffecteds. Upbeats contain many young people who tend to be uncritical of government and other institutions. They also have American Exceptionalist values, believing that Americans can always solve their problems and there are no limits to this country's power.

The final group in the Times Mirror typology are ***Bystanders*** who reflect an almost total lack of interest in politics and public affairs. This urban, lower socio-economic group contains many young singles.

The table below shows the percentage of the survey respondents in each typology group for this survey.

	PERCENT
Enterprisers	16
Moralists	12
Upbeats	17
Disaffecteds	15
Seculars	15
60's Democrats	6
New Dealers	2
Pocketbook Dems.	8
Unclassified	9

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
NEW HAMPSHIRE SURVEY
JANUARY 9-12, 1992
N=1016 REGISTERED VOTERS

SEX:1[ ]Male 2[ ]Female

STRATUM:
1 Stratum One
2 Stratum Two
3 Remainder

DATE: ____________________

INTRODUCTION: Hello, we are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older,who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992	National Jan. 1992
Approve	37	46
Disapprove	49	43
Don't know	14	11
	100	100

Q.2 Are you now registered in your precinct or election district as a Democrat or as an Independent?

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992
Registered Republican	39
Registered Democrat	23
Other party **(VOLUNTEERED)**	2
Independent	34
Not sure	2
	100

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' REGISTERED REPUBLICAN OR '2' REGISTERED DEMOCRAT IN Q.2 ASK:

Q.3 Do you, yourself, plan to vote in the February 18 primary election?

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992
Yes	58
No	1
Not sure	2
TOTAL REGISTERED DEM. OR REP.	61

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER PARTY , '4' INDEPENDENT, OR '5' NOT SURE IN Q.2 ASK:

Q.4 Do you plan to vote in the Republican primary or do you plan to vote in the Democratic primary?

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992
Republican	7
Democrat	8
Not sure	19
Do not plan to vote	4
TOTAL REGISTERED IND./OTHER	38

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' NOT SURE IN Q.4 ASK:

Q.5 As of today, are you more likely to vote in the Republican primary or more likely to vote in the Democratic primary?

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992
Republican	5
Democrat	7
Not sure	8
Do not plan to vote	*
TOTAL IND. NOT SURE ABOUT PRIMARY VOTE	20

Q.6 Suppose the Democratic primary election were being held today. If you had to choose among **(READ LIST-RANDOMIZE)** which candidate would you vote for?

	Likely Dem.Voters Jan. 1992
Former Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas	20
Nebraska Senator Robert Kerrey	11
Iowa Senator Tom Harkin	4
Former California Governor Jerry Brown	10
Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton	27
Other	1
Don't know/No answer	26
	(375)

DECIDEDS AND LEANERS COMBINED.

Q.7 Well as of today, to whom do you most lean? **(REREAD LIST)**

	New Hampshire Likely Voters Jan. 1992
Former Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas	22
Nebraska Senator Robert Kerrey	13
Iowa Senator Tom Harkin	5
Former California Governor Jerry Brown	11
Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton	30
Other	1
Don't know	18
	100

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' REGISTERED REPUBLICAN IN Q.2, '1' REPUBLICAN IN Q.4, OR '1' REPUBLICAN IN Q.5 ASK:

Q.8 Suppose the Republican primary election were being held today. If you had to choose between George Bush and Pat Buchanan, who would you vote for?

	Likely Rep.Voters Jan. 1992
George Bush	66
Pat Buchanan	20
Other	3
Don't know	11
	(495)

DECIDEDS AND LEANERS COMBINED.

Q.9 Well as of today, to whom do you most lean? **(REREAD LIST)**

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992
George Bush	71
Pat Buchanan	23
(DO NOT READ) Other	2
(DO NOT READ) Don't know	4
	100

ASK EVERYONE:

Q.10 Turning to the presidential election next November for a moment....Would you like to see George Bush re-elected President in 1992 or would you prefer that a Democratic candidate win the election?

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992	National Reg.Voters Jan. 1992
Bush re-elected	37	41
Prefer Democrat	38	45
Not sure	25	14
	100	100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.12 What is the most important problem facing the country today?

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992	National Jan. 1992
Economy	38	43
Unemployment/Lack of jobs	36	22
Health care(cost,accessibility)	6	2
Recession/Depression	6	5
Homelessness	3	6
Education	3	-
Deficit/Balanced budget	3	4
Dissatisfaction with govt./ politicians	3	-
Too much foreign aid/ Spend at home	2	-
Drugs/Alcohol	1	4
Morality/Ethics/Family Values	1	3
Crime/Gangs/Justice systems	1	3
Trade deficit/Trade relations	1	2
Hunger	*	2
Net economic	82	76
Don't know/No answer	1	2

Q.13 Who do you think can do as better job of handling the problem you just mentioned -- the Republican party or the Democratic party?

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992	National Jan. 1992
Republican	30	32
Democrat	38	41
No difference **(VOLUNTEERED)**	11	12
Don't know	21	15
	100	100

Q.14 As I read from a list, tell me which ONE of the following eight items is the most important thing for the President to do in the future?

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992	National Nov.1991
Help the Russians convert to a market economy	2	2
Reform the U.S. banking and financial industry	14	12
Achieve a lasting peace in the Mideast	1	4
Reduce unemployment	40	25
Improve health care	15	18
Improve the quality of education	14	22
Make sure that Iraq does not get nuclear weapons	2	5
Improve the environment	4	8
Other	3	-
None/Don't know	5	-
	100	

Q.15 In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the U.S. at this time?

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992	National Jan. 1992
Satisfied	17	28
Dissatisfied	79	68
Don't know	4	4
	100	100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.16 Thinking about your own situation, compared to 4 years ago, would you say that you are better off financially today or worse off financially today?

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992	National Jan. 1992
Better off	31	45
Worse off	51	41
Same	17	13
Don't know	1	1
	100	100

Q.17 Now looking ahead, do you expect that at this time next year you will be financially better off than now, or worse off than now?

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992	National Jan. 1992
Better	43	53
Worse	25	24
Same	22	16
Don't know	10	7
	100	100

Q.18 Do you think the chances are high, low or almost zero that sometime in the next 12 months an adult in your family will be out of work and actively looking for a job?

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992	National Jan. 1992
High	29	30
Low	24	25
Almost zero	26	31
(DO NOT READ) Someone out of work now	9	6
(DO NOT READ) Retired	8	4
Don't know/No answer	4	4
	100	100

Q.19 How would you describe economic conditions would you say the economy is now recovering, _or_ that we are in a recession that will pass fairly soon _or_ that we are in an economic depression that will last a long time?

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992	National Jan. 1992
Recovery	8	7
Recession	43	51
Depression	46	38
Can't say	3	4
	100	100

Q.20 Who do you think is most responsible for the current economic situation: **DO NOT READ LIST** And who would you name second?

FIRST CHOICE MENTIONS ONLY

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992	National Jan. 1992
George Bush	16	20
Ronald Reagan	9	6
Congress Both/Neither party	15	10
Democrats in Congress	5	3
Republicans in Congress	*	1
The Democrats	1	1
The Republicans	4	3
Wall Street, the Banks, financial institutions	7	2
Business Corporations	4	3
Foreign trade/Foreign interests	2	2
Government/Politicians	7	8
People/The public/Consumers	6	6
Someone else **(PLEASE SPECIFY)**	2	3

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '12' CONGRESS IN Q.20 PROBE....

Q.21 Are you thinking of the Democrats in Congress, the Republicans in Congress or neither party in particular?

Q.22 Which, if any of the following most worries you about future economic conditions in this country:

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992	National Jan. 1992
The condition of the banks and other financial institutions	25	16
Jobs lost to foreign competition	37	50
The decline in real estate prices	3	2
The financial shape of state and local governments	24	20
Something else	5	5
None	2	2
Can't say	4	5
	100	100

Q.23 Which, if any, of the following most worries you about your own future?

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992	National Jan. 1992
The financial condition of the banks and other financial institutions	25	21
The number of jobs lost to foreign competition	24	31
The decline in real estate prices	10	6
The financial condition of state and local governments	24	23
Something else_______	5	4
None	7	10
Can't say	5	5
	100	100

Q.24 In your opinion, is President Bush doing as much as he can to improve economic conditions or do you think he could be doing more?

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992	National Jan. 1992
Doing all he can	16	21
Could be doing more	80	76
Can't say	4	3
	100	100

Q.25 Do you think our political system needs a major shake up or do you think that our political system is basically sound and only needs some new leaders?

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992	National Nov. 1991
Major changes	44	35
Sound, some new leaders	50	62
(DO NOT READ) No change needed	2	*
(DO NOT READ) Don't worry	4	3
	100	100

Q.26 I am going to read some statements that candidates may be making next year in the election campaign. For each statement tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is ...

[READ STATEMENT] [REPEAT SCALE AS NECESSARY?]

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
(DON'T ROTATE A)					
a. Drugs should be legalized to take the profits out of drug dealing					
New Hampshire 1992	4	9	25	60	2=100
National Nov. 1991	7	9	19	63	2=100
c. The Gulf War showed that the U.S. can still unite and accomplish things					
New Hampshire 1992	41	41	10	4	4=100
National Nov. 1991	49	35	7	6	3=100

		Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
d.	There should be a limit on how many terms a person can serve in Congress					
	New Hampshire 1992	51	27	11	8	3=100
	National Nov. 1991	55	25	10	8	2=100
e.	The country would be better off if there were more women serving in Congress in the future					
	New Hampshire 1992	24	44	16	5	11=100
	National Nov. 1991	31	38	16	8	7=100
f.	The policies of Ronald Reagan and George Bush helped speed the end of communism in Russia					
	New Hampshire 1992	19	41	23	10	7=100
	National Nov. 1991	18	38	19	14	11=100
g.	Taxes should be increased for people who earn $100,000 a year or more					
	New Hampshire 1992	44	31	13	8	4=100
	National Nov. 1991	47	27	12	11	3=100
h.	Government should play an active role in improving health care, housing and education for middle income families					
	New Hampshire 1992	54	32	9	3	2=100
	National Nov. 1991	52	32	10	4	2=100
j.	American jobs should be protected from foreign competition					
	New Hampshire 1992	42	31	19	6	2=100
	National Nov. 1991	53	27	12	5	3=100

		Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
l.	A woman's right to decide about abortion should be preserved					
	New Hampshire 1992	64	19	5	9	3=100
	National Nov. 1991	55	19	8	15	3=100
n.	The government should guarantee that everyone is covered by health insurance					
	New Hampshire 1992	50	33	10	5	2=100
	National Nov. 1991	53	29	10	6	2=100

Q.27 I'd like your opinion of some people and organizations. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. First, would you describe your opinion of (ITEM) as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	(VOL) Very Unfavorable	(VOL) Never Heard Of	Can't Rate
a.	George Bush						
	NH 1992	14	46	29	10	0	1=100
	National 1992	20	43	22	13	0	2=100
d.	Paul Tsongas						
	NH 1992	8	39	24	7	6	16=100
	National 1992	4	20	17	5	31	23=100
e.	Douglas Wilder						
	NH 1992	1	21	19	7	18	34=100
	National 1992	5	20	16	8	26	25=100
f.	Bob Kerrey						
	NH 1992	5	35	16	4	14	26=100
	National 1992	7	25	13	5	27	23=100
g.	Tom Harkin						
	NH 1992	2	22	18	4	21	33=100
	National 1992	4	25	14	6	29	22=100
h.	Bill Clinton						
	NH 1992	9	33	12	3	17	26=100
	National 1992	9	28	11	4	27	21=100

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
i.	Jerry Brown						
	NH 1992	4	23	31	12	11	19=100
	National 1992	8	30	24	13	11	14=100
j.	David Duke						
	NH 1992	1	5	20	64	2	8=100
	National 1992	3	9	18	58	5	7=100
k.	Pat Buchanan						
	NH 1992	8	33	28	12	4	15=100
	National 1992	6	27	21	9	18	19=100

DO NOT ROTATE ITEMS

Q.900 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)**

		Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
a.	People like me don't have any say about what the government does					
	New Hampshire 1992	13	30	36	20	1=100
	National 1992	21	35	33	10	1=100
b.	Most elected officials care what people like me think					
	New Hampshire 1992	5	40	44	9	2=100
	National 1992	7	37	38	16	2=100
c.	Hard work offers little guarantee of success					
	New Hampshire 1992	11	26	41	20	2=100
	National 1992	16	25	35	21	3=100
d.	The Federal Government controls too much of our daily lives					
	New Hampshire 1992	21	35	36	5	3=100
	National 1992	27	36	28	7	2=100

		Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
e.	The government is really run for the benefit of all the people					
	New Hampshire 1992	9	37	40	12	2=100
	National 1992	8	35	40	15	2=100
f.	There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies					
	New Hampshire 1992	29	47	18	3	3=100
	National 1992	32	46	16	3	3=100
g.	As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want					
	New Hampshire 1992	15	54	24	5	2=100
	National 1992	11	47	31	9	2=100
h.	Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed					
	New Hampshire 1992	56	37	5	1	1=100
	National 1992	53	38	6	2	1=100
i.	The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt					
	New Hampshire 1992	14	40	32	9	5=100
	National 1992	18	36	28	14	4=100
j.	The best way to ensure peace is through military strength					
	New Hampshire 1992	16	33	35	13	3=100
	National 1992	17	33	32	15	3=100
k.	Prayer is an important part of my daily life					
	New Hampshire 1992	37	34	19	9	1=100
	National 1992	49	32	12	6	1=100
l.	Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries					
	New Hampshire 1992	19	16	25	37	3=100
	National 1992	27	18	24	28	3=100

		Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
m.	There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation					
	New Hampshire 1992	25	38	20	11	6=100
	National 1992	27	43	16	11	3=100
n.	Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer					
	New Hampshire 1992	32	41	20	5	2=100
	National 1992	39	38	17	4	2=100
o.	I often don't have enough money to make ends meet					
	New Hampshire 1992	20	27	36	15	2=100
	National 1992	25	28	32	14	1=100
p.	I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs					
	New Hampshire 1992	43	51	4	1	1=100
	National 1992	35	52	10	2	1=100
q.	I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote					
	New Hampshire 1992	50	30	10	4	6=100
	National 1992	46	31	12	8	3=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.901 How often would you say you vote -- always, nearly always, part of the time, or seldom?

	New Hampshire Jan. 1992	National Jan. 1992
Always	50	40
Nearly always	38	35
Part of the time	9	11
Seldom	2	10
(DO NOT READ) Other (SPECIFY)	*	0
(DO NOT READ) Never vote	0	4
Don't know/no answer	1	*
	100	100

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Times Mirror
Center for
The People &
The Press

NEWS

1875 Eye Street, N.W., Suite 1110
Washington, D.C. 20006
202 293-3126

FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, JANUARY 30, 1992, 4:30 P.M.

The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92:

The Governor & The Press

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Americans in the Editor's Chair

MAJORITY OF PUBLIC WOULD RUN CLINTON STORY; DIVIDED ON ISSUE'S RELEVANCE

The American public is divided on the issue of whether marital infidelity is something voters should consider when judging a candidate for the presidency. At the same time, a 52% majority of Americans who know of the charges against Clinton say that if they were heading a news organization they would report them. But a strong minority of 43% say they would not report these allegations about Clinton's marital infidelity to their readers or viewers.

The nationwide ***Times Mirror*** survey of 1008 adults found 52% of the public saying that marital infidelity has little to do with a candidate's ability to handle the job, but as many as 40% saying that this is something voters should consider in judging presidential candidates. The current findings on this question closely parallel the results of a nationwide Times Mirror poll taken four years ago after Gary Hart's candidacy came under fire for similar reasons. The January 1988 national survey found 43% saying marital infidelity should be taken into account by voters, while 50% disagreed.

The current poll finds opinions about these issues strongly linked to partisanship. Although a 54% to 39% majority of Republicans think marital infidelity is something voters should consider when evaluating a presidential candidate, only 33% of Democrats and 35% of Independents concur. Majorities of both groups feel this should ***not*** be a consideration (62% and 54% respectively).

Republicans and Democrats also differ on whether they would report the charges against Clinton if they headed a news organization. A 61% to 34% majority of Republicans would go with the story, while opinion divided 39% to 56% in favor of ***not*** running the story among Democrats. In this case Independents line up with the Republicans in favor of reporting by a 57% to 38% margin.

The Times Mirror survey was taken over a five day period (Friday to Tuesday) both before and after Clinton's appearance on ***60 Minutes*** and the subsequent press conference by his accuser. The survey found no significant difference in opinion between the 618 interviews conducted Friday - Sunday and the 390 interviews completed Monday and Tuesday evenings, except that awareness of the allegations against Clinton rose from 67% to 79% over that period.

As the public divides on the legitimacy of infidelity as a basis for judging a candidate, it has a mixed view on the press's performance. Forty-four percent think the press has covered the charges against Clinton ***very or fairly*** responsibly, but nearly as many (41%) say the press has acted ***not too or not at all*** responsibly in this matter.

Only 8% of the Times Mirror sample had high praise for the press in rating its handling of the story as very responsible, while twice as many (17%) condemned it thoroughly in saying the press was not at all responsible in the way they covered the Clinton allegations.

A large element in the public opinion about the press is the view that news organizations are mainly interested in reporting the Clinton story because of its audience appeal. Seventy-three percent believe that press coverage has been driven by the belief that such stories draw large audiences compared with 21% who say the press is principally motivated by the feeling that voters should know about Clinton's character and personality.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among a nationally representative sample of 1,008 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period of January 24 - 28, 1992. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
January 24-28, 1992
N = 1008

Q.1 Have you heard or read about charges that Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, has had extramarital affairs.

All	Interviews:		
Resp.	Fri-Sun	Mon-Tu.	
71	67	79	Yes
29	33	21	No
100	100	100	Total
(1008)	(618)	(390)	N

Q.2 In general, do you think marital infidelity is something voters should consider in judging a candidate for the presidency, or do you think it has little to do with a candidate's ability to handle the job of President?

All	Interviews:		
Resp.	Fri-Sun	Mon-Tu.	
40	40	39	Yes should consider
52	51	53	No should not
8	9	8	Can't Say
100	100	100	Total

Q.3 Thinking about the newspapers and news programs that you see... how responsibly have these news organizations covered these charges against Clinton? (read 1-4)[1]

All	Interviews:		
Resp.	Fri-Sun	Mon-Tu.	
8	10	8	Very responsibly
36	33	39	Fairly responsibly
24	23	24	Not too responsibly
17	18	14	Not at all responsibly
15	16	15	DK
100	100	100	Total
(743)	(423)	(320)	N

---

[1] Asked of people who said they had heard about the charges against Clinton.

Q.4 If you were running a news organization today would you report the charges that Bill Clinton had extramarital affairs or would you not report these charges to your readers or viewers?[2]

All Resp.	Interviews: Fri-Sun	Mon-Tu.	
52	51	54	Yes would
43	42	43	No
5	7	3	DK
100	100	100	Total

Q.5 What do you think is the main reason why news organizations are reporting these charges (read categories 1 & 2)[2]

All Resp.	Interviews: Fri-Sun	Mon-Tu.	
21	20	23	Because they feel voters should know about the personality and character of a presidential candidate
			OR
73	73	71	Because they think such stories attract large audiences
6	7	6	DK
100	100	100	Total

---

[2] Asked of people who said they had heard about charges against Clinton.

C8915-V.8-F

Times Mirror
Center for
The People &
The Press

NEWS Release

EMBARGOED
FEB [illegible] 1992

1875 Eye Street, N.W., Suite 1110
Washington, D.C. 20006
202 293-3126

FOR RELEASE: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1992

The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92

Survey III

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Bush Approval at 39%, Core Groups Slipping;
NEW DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES UNAPPEALING TO VOTERS

New ***Times Mirror*** polling data presents President Bush with a mixed message.

The bad news for Bush: The President's approval ratings have slipped below 40% for the first time ever, a significant gender gap is re-emerging, and two traditionally strong constituencies -- the affluent and younger voters -- are starting to edge away from the President.

The good news for Bush: While the now famous unnamed Democrat beats the President, the public still believes Bush will win re-election; and despite all the speculation about a ***stronger*** Democrat jumping into the race, none of the Cuomos or Bentsens generates any significant enthusiasm among voters.

Bush Approval Ratings

George Bush's approval rating has slipped to 39% from 46% in January and for the first time in Times Mirror surveys the President trails a hypothetical unnamed Democratic challenger by a statistically significant margin (40% to 48%). Yet 66% of the public expects Bush to be re-elected when he faces a Democratic challenger in the fall and Republicans prefer Bush to Buchanan by a whopping 77% to 18% margin.

This is the seventh consecutive Times Mirror survey since March of 1991 showing a decline in the President's approval ratings. Criticism of George Bush's job performance has begun to take its toll on his personal popularity as well. The current survey finds 64% of respondents saying they have a favorable opinion of Bush personally, while 34% give him an unfavorable personal evaluation. As recently as November 1991, Bush enjoyed a 71% favorable to 26% unfavorable rating. In May of 1990, well before the President's Gulf War surge, Bush achieved a 76% favorable, 22% unfavorable evaluation from a nationwide Times Mirror survey.

Bush Support Sliding Among Young, Affluent

The growing number of people who say they would prefer an unnamed Democrat to George Bush is a result of waning support for the President among two groups that have been consistently on his side, younger people and affluents. In January, both groups supported Bush over an unnamed Democrat by a significant margin, while in the current poll younger people and those earning $50,000 or more divided evenly between the two alternatives.

The current survey also finds the gender gap re-emerging with women supporting a Democrat over Bush by a wide margin (51% vs. 37%). The President has also lost some adherents in the South, where support divides evenly between Bush and a Democratic adversary (45% Bush vs. 46% unnamed Dem.).

No Enthusiasm for New Democratic Candidates

While Americans aren't enthusiastic about the current crop of Democratic candidates, voters are lukewarm, at best, to the nationally known Democrats waiting in the wings. Potential latecomers to the race such as Cuomo, Bentsen, Gephardt, Gore and Bradley get the same mixed ratings as the five Democratic candidates now in the field.

Times Mirror's latest nationwide survey reveals that although Americans have a somewhat better opinion of the Democratic candidates than they had a few months ago, most Americans judge the Democratic field as ***only fair***. Just one in three rate the Democratic entries as ***excellent*** (3%) or ***good*** candidates (31%). The vast majority rate them less positively - 51% ***only fair*** and 9% ***poor***. Democrats and Independents who lean to the Democratic party judge the field only slightly more positively than does the public at large - 44% excellent or good, 51% only fair or poor.

The leading non-candidates of the Democratic party aren't rated much better. In every instance the percentage of the public thinking they would make only fair or poor candidates exceeds the percentage who feel they would be excellent or good candidates.

The most talked about potential latecomer, Mario Cuomo, comes closest to achieving a positive rating, but falls just short: 39% excellent/good - 43% only fair/poor. There seems to be little enthusiasm for these men, even among people who think of themselves as Democrats. Only Cuomo achieves a positive rating as a potential candidate.

Evaluations of Potential Candidates
Among Democrats and Dem Leaners

	Ex/Good	Fair/Poor
Mario Cuomo	45%	38%
Dick Gephardt	33%	38%
Lloyd Bentsen	33%	36%
Al Gore	29%	31%
Bill Bradley	27%	31%

Tsongas Gets New Hampshire Bounce

A general lack of enthusiasm for the Democratic field notwithstanding, Paul Tsongas has clearly made the biggest gain in national standing coming out of New Hampshire. His support climbed from 6% among Democrats in January to 27% in the current poll placing him in second place, just behind Bill Clinton. The Arkansas Governor rose from 16% to 32% over that period. The other three candidates lost support between January and February and trail the front runners substantially among the Democrats and Independent Democrats, nationwide. Brown polls 11%, Kerrey 7% and Harkin 6%.

The biggest difference between the two front running candidates is not the few percentage points that separate them in the nomination preference question, but the fact that very few people have developed unfavorable opinions of Tsongas, while Clinton's negatives have ballooned over the past six weeks.

Both candidates get favorable ratings from six in ten Americans (58% Tsongas and 59% Clinton). However, only 17% said they had an unfavorable opinion of Tsongas, while as many as 31% rated Clinton unfavorably. On a trend basis, this represents a decline from 22% unfavorable in January for Tsongas while Clinton's negatives rose from 15% in the earlier poll.

South Gives Clinton Lead

Support for the two Democratic front runners is clearly patterned demographically. Clinton's lead over Tsongas in the preference question is the result of his very strong showing in the South, where he leads Tsongas by a 48% to 17% margin. In the East and Midwest, the preferences of Democrats divide about evenly between the two candidates, while Tsongas leads Clinton in the West 37% to 22%.

Tsongas owes his nationwide standing to his appeal among well-educated Democrats. The former Massachusetts Senator enjoys a 46% to 25% margin over Clinton among college graduates. Clinton has greater support among Democrats with less formal education - he leads Tsongas by a 13 percentage point margin among Democrats with a high school education or less.

Race and gender are also influential factors in support for these two men. Clinton holds a wide lead over Tsongas among men and blacks, while the contest is essentially even among women and whites.

Age is not a factor in preferences for the two front runners, but Jerry Brown gets a higher than average registration of support among 30-49 year olds.

NOMINATION PREFERENCES AMONG DEMOCRATS AND LEANERS

	Clinton	*Tsongas*	*Brown*	*Kerrey*	*Harkin*	*Undecided*	*Total*	*N=*
Total	32	27	11	7	6	17	100	(564)
Sex:								
Male	36	26	10	7	9	12	100	(265)
Female	29	28	12	6	4	21	100	(299)
Race:								
White	28	29	11	8	7	17	100	(442)
Black	49	20	13	1	2	15	100	(86)
Age:								
18-29	35	30	7	8	5	15	100	(132)
30-49	26	29	17	7	8	13	100	(232)
50+	35	24	7	6	6	22	100	(197)
Education:								
Less than H.S.	37	16	11	2	7	27	100	(69)
H.S. Grad.	32	22	11	8	8	19	100	(178)
Some College	32	29	13	11	6	9	100	(162)
College Grad.	25	46	9	6	4	10	100	(154)
Region:								
East	26	29	12	9	8	16	100	(158)
Midwest	25	31	8	8	9	19	100	(151)
South	48	17	12	4	4	15	100	(189)
West	22	37	12	8	5	16	100	(66)
Select Groups:								
South. White Male	45	17	5	4	10	19	100	(66)
White Catholic	23	31	13	7	11	15	100	(144)
White Protestant	35	27	8	7	5	18	100	(233)
Women College Grads.	19	47	9	7	3	15	100	(75)

The ***Times Mirror Typology*** finds support for a Democratic alternative increasing among ***Upbeats****. These younger moderate Independents who lean to the GOP prefer Bush to a Democrat by a more modest margin than in previous polls (48% to 32%). The typology also continues to show increasing party loyalty among core Democratic groups. ***Disaffecteds****, a group of independent voters deeply skeptical of politicians divide their support evenly between Bush and a Democratic alternative.

****For a description of the Times Mirror Typology groups, see the Survey Methodology section on pp. 9-11.***

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE

	January		*February*	
	Bush %	***Unnamed Democrat %***	***Bush %***	***Unnamed Democrat %***
Total	42	42	40	48
Sex:				
Male	45	42	44	44
Female	40	42	37	51
Age:				
18-29	48	40	42	45
30-49	44	39	43	49
50+	37	47	36	48
Income:				
Less than $20K	32	53	30	57
$20K-29.9K	42	44	43	45
$30K-49.9K	46	36	46	42
$50K+	56	33	45	44
Region:				
East	37	46	38	48
Midwest	41	44	39	48
South	48	36	45	46
West	42	43	37	49
Typology:				
Enterprisers	82	7	80	12
Moralists	82	10	75	12
Upbeats	52	24	48	32
Disaffecteds	38	41	41	43
Seculars	23	64	19	70
60s Democrats	19	72	7	83
New Dealers	23	71	9	78
Pocketbook Dems	9	83	12	82
Bystanders	38	34	39	46

Buchanan Improves Public Image

For all of Bush's problems, Republicans around the country have yet to desert him in favor of Pat Buchanan, whom he leads in preferences for the Republican nomination by a 77% to 18% margin. This is despite the fact that Pat Buchanan shows signs of having significantly improved his public image over the past six weeks.

As more people have gotten to know the former White House speech writer, his favorable ratings have jumped from 33% to 56%. His negative ratings have remained at 30%, while the percentage unfamiliar with him fell from 37% to 14%.

Buchanan's favorable ratings have increased among all demographic and political groups; however, it's noteworthy that less well-educated people have a more improved opinion of Buchanan than do college graduates. Among college graduates he gets a 50% favorable, 39% unfavorable rating while those without a degree give Bush's challenger a more positive 57% favorable, 28% unfavorable rating.

Despite his improved image Buchanan makes little headway in a ballot test against Bush among any political or demographic groups. For example, in the South Buchanan trails the President by a 4 to 1 margin - 78% to 18%.

The view that the President will ultimately triumph over a Democratic challenger in the fall predominates in all political and demographic groups. The survey finds that even among Democrats, a 53% majority feel that George Bush will be re-elected. Tsongas supporters are slightly more pessimistic (61%) than Clinton supporters (52%).

NOMINATION PREFERENCES
AMONG REPUBLICANS AND LEANERS

	Bush	***Buchanan***	***Undecided***	***Total***	***N=***
Total	77	18	5	100	(553)
Sex:					
Male	78	20	2	100	(289)
Female	77	16	7	100	(264)
Age:					
18-29	71	26	3	100	(127)
30-49	82	16	2	100	(234)
50+	77	15	8	100	(189)
Education:					
Less than H.S.	59	30	11	100	(39)
H.S. Grad	75	19	6	100	(167)
Some College	86	11	3	100	(152)
College Grad	80	18	2	100	(194)
Region:					
East	74	23	3	100	(127)
Midwest	79	14	7	100	(157)
South	79	18	3	100	(203)
West	77	17	6	100	(66)
Select Group:					
South. White Male	83	17	0	100	(93)
White Catholic	81	17	2	100	(119)
White Protestant	77	17	6	100	(353)
Women College Grads.	79	16	5	100	(70)

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among a nationally representative sample of 1,227 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period of February 20-23, 1992. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE TIMES MIRROR TYPOLOGY

In 1987 Times Mirror developed a unique voter classification scheme that divided the electorate on the basis of political values, party identification and measures of political participation. Since its inception Times Mirror has conducted numerous nationwide surveys using this political typology, the most recent of which was reported in ***THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS & POLITICS - 1990***. The typology was developed for administration by personal interview in that it requires about 15 minutes of interviewing time to ask the full battery of questions.

Over the past year the ***Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press*** has developed a modified form of the Times Mirror Typology that is suitable for telephone interviewing in that it requires many fewer questions. It also divides the public into fewer groups (9 vs. 11) and therefore can be used with more limited sample size surveys. It is our intention to utilize the modified typology scheme on each of our pre-election surveys in 1992. While this form of the typology does not offer the full analytical richness of the original scheme, we think it continues to be an important and highly useful way of looking at the electorate.

The modified typology is based on the important concepts about the homogeneity of various voting groups that we uncovered in our earlier research.

There are two core Republican groups:

Enterprisers: Enterprisers are fiscal conservatives who hold positive attitudes toward business and are anti-welfarist. They are affluent, well-educated and well-informed. Enterprisers are much less likely than other Americans to agree with the popular notion that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer (43% vs. 81%). Their pro-business stance leads them to differ with most Americans on the idea that too much power is concentrated in the hands of big companies. While 82% of other Americans feel that this is true, only 48% of Enterprisers agree. Enterprisers are also less likely to completely agree that society should make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity (55% vs. 41%).

Moralists: Moralists are highly religious, socially conservative and show low levels of concern for personal freedoms. They are less affluent, older, and many live in the South. A vast majority of Moralists agree that books with dangerous ideas should be banned from public schools, which sets them firmly to the right of the rest of the public on the issue of censorship (89% vs. 39%).

There are three core Democratic groups:

Sixties Democrats: Sixties Democrats are strong believers in peace and social justice. More than any other segment of the population, they disagree with the idea that the best way to preserve peace is through military strength (88% vs. 44%). And two-thirds (65%) of Sixties Democrats completely agree that society should guarantee everyone an equal opportunity. This is a heavily female, middle class, middle-aged group that supports most of the policy positions of the national Democratic party.

New Dealers: New Dealers are older Democrats who experience little financial pressure and are more socially conservative than the national Democratic Party. Drawn heavily from the South, many of these old-time Democrats have party roots that go back to Roosevelt. Despite the end of the Cold War, New Dealers still universally agree that the best way to insure peace is through military strength (96%[1]).

Pocketbook Democrats: Pocketbook Dems overwhelmingly agree that they don't have enough money to make ends meet (98%). They are very concerned with social justice, and they believe that government should take an active role in the solution of the socio-economic problems that plague them. One-third of Pocketbook Dems are minorities (32%), and many have less than a high school education.

There are three typology groups that are basically Independent:

Seculars: Seculars lean to the Democratic party, but some identify more closely with the GOP on certain issues. They are strongly supportive of personal freedoms. Seculars are well-informed, relatively affluent, and more often found on the East and West coasts. Their defining characteristic is an almost total lack of religious conviction. While 87% of the rest of the public says that prayer is an important part of their daily life, only one in ten (12%) Seculars hold this view. Their support for personal freedoms is best reflected in their feelings about censorship: 97% disagree with banning books containing dangerous ideas from public school libraries, compared with 48% of other Americans.

Two of the Independent groups lean to the Republican party:

Disaffecteds: Disaffecteds are personally alienated, financially pressured and deeply skeptical of politicians. This middle-aged, lower-middle income group contains many blue collar workers. Disaffecteds are nearly twice as likely as others to agree that hard work offers little guarantee of success (69% vs. 36%). Their political distrust is such that three-quarters (77%) disagree that elected officials care what people like them think.

Upbeats: Upbeats are also independents who lean to the GOP, but their attitudinal profile is almost the opposite of Disaffecteds. Upbeats are primarily young people who tend to be uncritical of government and other institutions. They also have American Exceptionalist values: 88% of Upbeats agree that Americans can always solve their problems, while only 55% of others agree.

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[1] Based on combined survey results from November 1991 and January 1992.

Finally, there is one typology group that is by definition apolitical:

Bystanders: Bystanders have an almost total lack of interest in politics and public affairs. This urban, lower socio-economic group contains many young singles. Forty-six percent of Bystanders say they seldom vote.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
POLITICAL SURVEY III - NATIONAL
FEBRUARY 20-23, 1992
N=1,227

SEX: 1[ ]Male 2[ ]Female

TIME STARTED: ____________

TIME FINISHED: ____________

LENGTH: ____________

REGION:
1 East
2 Midwest
3 South
4 West

INTERVIEWER'S NAME: ____________

INTERVIEWER'S I.D.: ____________

PAGE NUMBER: ____________

REPLICATE NUMBER: ____________

STRATUM:
1 Stratum One
2 Stratum Two
3 Remainder

DATE: ____________

INTRODUCTION: Hello, we are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

		NEWS INTEREST INDEX						
Feb 1992		Jan 1992	Nov 1991	Oct 1991	July 1991	May 1991	March 1991	Jan 25 1991
39	Approve_	46	55	61	67	77	84	79
53	Disapprove	43	33	28	23	16	10	14
8	Don't know	11	12	11	10	7	6	7
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT..

Q.10 After I read all the names of the Democratic candidates for President would you tell me which one you would most like to see nominated as the Democratic party's candidate? **(ROTATE LIST)**

IF ANSWERED '6' OTHER OR '7' DON'T KNOW IN Q.10 ASK:

Q.11 Well, as of today, to whom do you most lean? **(REREAD LIST, IF NECESSARY)**

BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND LEANERS

Feb/1992		Jan/1992
27	Former Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas	6
7	Nebraska Senator Robert Kerrey	14
6	Iowa Senator Tom Harkin	10
11	Former California Governor Jerry Brown	20
32	Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton	16
1	**(DO NOT READ)** Other - **ASK Q.11**	1
16	**(DO NOT READ)** Don't know - **ASK Q.11**	23
NA	(Virginia Governor Douglas Wilder)	10
100		
(N=564)		

ASK EVERYONE..

Q.11a Who would you most like to see nominated as the Republican party's candidate - George Bush or Pat Buchanan?

Q.11b Well, as of today, to whom do you most lean? **(REREAD LIST)**

BASED ON REPUBLICANS AND LEANERS

77	George Bush **(SKIP TO Q12)**
18	Pat Buchanan **(SKIP TO Q12)**
1	**(DO NOT READ)** Other **ASK Q11b**
4	**(DO NOT READ)** Don't know **ASK Q11b**
100	
(N=553)	

ASK EVERYONE..

Q.12 Would you like to see George Bush re-elected President in November or would you prefer that a Democratic candidate win the election?

	Total Respondents			Registered Voters		
	Feb. 1992	Jan. 1992	Nov. 1991	Feb. 1992	Jan. 1992	Nov. 1991
Bush re-elected	40	42	41	39	41	41
Prefer Democrat	48	42	43	49	45	44
(DO NOT READ) Not sure	12	16	16	12	14	15
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.13 Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the coming presidential election - George Bush or a Democratic candidate?

Feb 1992		Oct 1991	Oct 1988
65	Bush	76	68
25	Democratic candidate	12	14
10	Can't say	12	18
100		100	100

Q.14 Overall, what's your opinion of the men running for the **Democratic** presidential nomination? As a group, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, only fair candidates or poor candidates?

Feb 1992		Oct 1991	Jan 1988
3	Excellent	2	3
31	Good	18	27
51	Fair	38	44
9	Poor	15	17
6	Don't know	27	9
100		100	100

Q.15 There has been some talk that other Democratic candidates may enter the race for the Democratic nomination: **(ROTATE)**
(READ SCALE OUT LOUD)

	Excellent?	Good?	Only Fair?	Poor?	(VOL) Never Heard of?	(VOL) DK
Form 1 a. What kind of candidate do you think New York Governor Mario Cuomo might make?	11	28	25	18	5	13=100 (N=610)
Form 2 b. What kind of candidate do you think House Majority Leader Dick Gephardt would make?	3	28	30	8	6	25=100 (N=617)
Form 1 c. What kind of candidate do you think Tennessee Senator Al Gore would make?	4	21	26	7	9	33=100 (N=610)
Form 2 d. What kind of candidate do you think New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley would make	3	21	26	6	9	35=100 (N=617)
Form 1 e. What kind of candidate do you think Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen would make?	5	22	30	12	9	22=100 (N=610)

Q.24 I'd like your opinion of some people. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who I name. First, would you describe your opinion of (ITEM) as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?
(ROTATE)

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
a. George Bush	26	38	20	14	0	2=100
January, 1992	20	43	22	13	0	2=100
November, 1991	25	46	17	9	0	3=100
May, 1990	24	52	15	7	0	2=100
January, 1989	24	54	9	4		9=100
*October, 1988	23	35	20	17		5=100
*September, 1988	19	40	20	17		4=100
*August, 1988	25	40	18	12		5=100
May, 1988	11	40	25	17		7=100
January, 1988	11	41	26	13		9=100
September, 1987	18	51	19	8		4=100
May, 1987	11	56	19	7		7=100
b. Paul Tsongas	16	42	12	5	7	18=100
January, 1992	4	20	17	5	31	23=100
November, 1991	3	21	11	3	40	22=100
c. Robert Kerrey	6	31	19	8	12	24=100
January, 1992	7	25	13	5	27	23=100
November, 1991	5	24	8	2	41	20=100
d. Tom Harkin	8	31	19	6	11	25=100
January, 1992	4	25	14	6	29	22=100
November, 1991	3	24	10	2	38	23=100
e. Bill Clinton	15	44	24	7	2	8=100
January, 1992	9	28	11	4	27	21=100
November, 1991	5	25	8	2	39	21=100
f. Jerry Brown	8	29	30	14	5	14=100
January, 1992	8	30	24	13	11	14=100
g. David Duke	2	7	22	55	5	9=100
January, 1992	3	9	18	58	5	7=100
November, 1991	1	11	17	32	28	11=100
h. Pat Buchanan	12	44	20	10	2	12=100
January, 1992	6	27	21	9	18	19=100

* Registered voters only.

DO NOT ROTATE ITEMS:

Q.900 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)**

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	(VOL) Don't Know
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does	18	36	29	16	1=100
b. Most elected officials care what people like me think	7	36	37	19	1=100
c. Hard work offers little guarantee of success	15	27	34	22	2=100
d. The Federal Government controls too much of our daily lives	30	35	27	6	2=100
e. The government is really run for the benefit of all the people	7	35	40	17	1=100
f. There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies	30	47	17	4	2=100
g. As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want	12	45	31	11	1=100
h. Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed	53	40	5	1	1=100
i. The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt	19	37	28	13	3=100
j. The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	18	34	31	15	2=100

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	(VOL) Don't Know
k. Prayer is an important part of my daily life	46	32	14	7	1=100
l. Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	23	19	25	31	2=100
m. There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation	29	41	17	11	2=100
n. Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer	37	43	14	5	1=100
o. I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	28	30	29	12	1=100
p. I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs	36	51	9	4	*=100
q. I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote	45	30	14	7	4=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT..

Q.901 How often would you say you vote; always, nearly always, part of the time, or seldom?

41	Always
32	Nearly always
13	Part of the time
11	Seldom
0	**(DO NOT READ)** Other (SPECIFY)
2	**(DO NOT READ)** Never vote
1	Don't know/no answer
100	

Times Mirror
Center for
The People &
The Press

N E W S Release

FOR RELEASE: FRIDAY, APRIL 3, 1992, A.M.

The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92

Electability: Bush, Clinton & Congress

Survey IV

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GOP Campaign Can "Dukakis" Clinton
ENGAGED PUBLIC ANGRY AT CANDIDATES AND CHECK KITERS

The American political landscape is marked by what appears to be the early stages of a massive voter rebellion against their presidential choices and their check kiting Congressmen. ***Times Mirror's*** latest survey finds that discontent with Congress as an institution is coming home to affect individual incumbent members of Congress. Thirty-nine percent of the public believe their own representative has bounced checks and 61 percent of the public say they are inclined to vote against their member of Congress if he or she has kited as few as ten checks.

As 66 percent of the voters say they are dissatisfied with all of the presidential candidates, the Democratic front runner, Gov. Bill Clinton, has been severely damaged by the intense media scrutiny of his personal life and record of public service. Eighty-six percent of the public is aware of the issues raised against Clinton by both the national media and by his surviving opponent, former Gov. Jerry Brown of California. But, despite an increasingly broad based negative assessment of Clinton's personal qualities, both he and Brown are still within striking distance of President Bush.

In test elections against Bush the two Democrats run even with each other. Each of them receives 43 percent against the President. Bush, with a job approval rating of only 38%, profits from the 40% of the public which gives negative personal ratings to each of the two Democratic candidates.

The capital's bouncing check escapades are deadly serious to voters back home. Public opinion polling going back to 1965 fails to match current levels of dissatisfaction with Congress and with the check kiters in particular. Those who believe their own congressmen did not bounce checks approve his or her job performance by 53% to 34%. But among those who think their representative is one of the offenders, overall job approval level dips to 40% approval and 45% disapproval.

Perhaps the finding with most dangerous implications for incumbent check bouncers is the public's overwhelming belief that the offenders ***were not being careless and forgetful but deliberately overdrew their accounts (62% deliberate vs. 26% careless).*** The bad news gets worse for those Congressmen who bounced one hundred checks or more. Fully half of their constituents say they'll ***"definitely"*** vote to throw out anyone with a record like that. Inasmuch as a House Ethics Committee Report states that 355 congressional representatives have been charged with bouncing from least one check to hundreds, a major election issue is very much in the making. This is a bipartisan scandal as far as the public is concerned. Seventy-six percent say ***"both parties are equally to blame"***. Another 10% hold the Democrats responsible and 3% blame the Republicans.

A Test of Candidate Vulnerabilities

A Republican campaign attack on Bill Clinton's personal character would likely damage his election chances a considerably greater degree than would a Democratic attack on George Bush's record. This is the principal conclusion of a survey experiment conducted by the ***Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press***.

Times Mirror questioned three independent nationwide samples of the public about their election preferences for George Bush and Bill Clinton. In one of the samplings, prior to questioning people about their election preferences, respondents were first asked a series of questions about George Bush's handling of the economy, his failure to depose Saddam Hussein and his breaking of his "no new taxes" pledge. In a second independent sampling respondents were first asked a series of questions about Bill Clinton's personal character, including questions about his alleged marital affairs, conflicts of interest and the controversy about his draft status during the Vietnam era.

In the third neutral sampling respondents were polled about their preferences for Bush and Clinton in the usual way - without being first exposed to any other evaluative information about the candidates.

A comparison of the results of the three samplings reveals that Bush's lead over Clinton expands from seven points (50% to 43%) to *15* points in the sampling in which Clinton character issues were raised (54% to 39%). In the sampling in which Bush's job performance failures were raised the test election results (Bush 48%, Clinton 45%) were within the margin of error of Bush's 50% to 43% victory in the neutral sample.

Analysis of the survey reveals that if Republicans were to raise the character issue in the general election it would hurt Clinton's prospects most among women, less well-educated people, among older people, among Democrats and people in the South. These are among Clinton's strongest constituencies.

TABLE 1
CANDIDATE SUPPORT
(Demographics)

	EXPOSED TO CLINTON NEGATIVES (Form 1)				NEUTRAL (Form 2)			
		*Support For:				*Support For:		
	N=	Bush	Clinton	Other	N=	Bush	Clinton	Other
Total	557	54	39	7	557	50	43	7
Gender								
Men	275	54	41	5	280	52	41	7
Women	282	**54**	**38**	8	277	**48**	**45**	7
Education								
College Grad.	189	60	34	6	188	58	35	7
Some College	142	63	31	6	141	52	37	11
≤ High School	222	**48**	**45**	7	225	**45**	**49**	6
Age								
18-29	138	60	38	2	121	54	42	4
30-49	243	53	39	8	271	53	39	8
50+	172	**51**	**40**	9	162	**42**	**49**	9
Income								
< 20K	133	50	44	6	129	35	60	5
20K-29K	94	50	39	11	105	55	41	4
30K-49K	151	58	39	3	149	46	43	11
50+K	133	62	30	8	125	67	26	7
Region								
East	136	55	39	6	135	51	38	11
Midwest	147	50	44	6	161	45	49	6
South	203	**55**	**40**	5	176	**47**	**48**	5
West	71	57	32	11	85	57	34	9
Party Id								
Republican	175	90	7	3	166	90	9	1
Democrat	181	**24**	**68**	8	181	**18**	**77**	5
Independent	185	54	39	7	191	50	37	13

***Note: The percentages of support for Bush and Clinton include those who said they support the two candidates and those who said they lean towards them.**

When the test election scores are assessed in the context of the Times Mirror political typology* a familiar pattern emerges. Core Republican groups give Bush 90% of their support, while defections among core Democratic groups run as high as 27%. As many as one in three Independent ***Seculars*** support Bush despite their Democratic inclinations. (Seculars are well-informed voters who agree with the Democratic Party's positions on most issues, but are very skeptical of the competency of Democratic leaders). Angry ***Disaffecteds*** divide evenly between Bush and Clinton, even though only 33% approve of Bush's performance in office.

TABLE 2
CANDIDATE SUPPORT BY TYPOLOGY GROUP
(All Three Forms Combined)

	CANDIDATE PREFERENCE		
	BUSH	CLINTON	OTHER
TOTAL	51	42	7
ENTERPRISERS	93	5	2
MORALISTS	90	8	2
UPBEATS	62	31	7
DISAFFECTEDS	46	43	11
SECULARS	33	60	7
60'S DEMOCRATS	27	65	8
NEW DEALERS	24	63	13
POCKET BOOK DEMS	15	81	4
BYSTANDERS/OTHER	53	34	13

**For a description of the Times Mirror Typology groups, see pages 13-15.*

Clinton and Brown's Unfavorable Scores Even Out

Times Mirror monthly surveys have shown a steady and substantial increase in the percentage of the public holding unfavorable opinions of Bill Clinton since the beginning of the campaign. In early January, Clinton's favorable to unfavorable ratio was 37% to 15%. In late February this margin swelled to 59% to 31%, while in the current survey Clinton's favorable score fell to 53% as his unfavorable rating increased to 40%.

A comparably large percentage of the public has consistently held an unfavorable opinion of Jerry Brown since the onset of the campaign. However, in the past month Brown's favorable score has improved as more people have formed an opinion of him. In the current survey the former California governor's favorable to unfavorable ratio improved to 49% to 41% from 37% to 44% in February of 1992.

Significant percentages of the national public have held unfavorable opinions of Jerry Brown for a long time. Poll ratings of Brown in the 1980 campaign found as many Americans rating Brown negatively as do currently.

Clinton's trouble with the voters reflects the extraordinary levels of public awareness of the character issues raised in this campaign and the doubts that the public has about Clinton's response to these charges. Eighty-six percent said they had heard of questions about Bill Clinton's character. In a more specific question, 79% said they were aware of accusations of conflict of interest charges relative to Hillary Clinton's law firm.

The public divided more or less evenly as to whether Clinton has been truthful and honest in the way he has handled the charges against him. Thirty-six percent said that he had been truthful and honest in the way he responded to charges about alleged extra-marital affairs, while 39% said they did not think so. On the draft controversy, 40% responded truthful and honest and 35% disagreed.

Over the past month Clinton's personal image has declined among people from all walks of life, but the biggest changes in opinion about the Arkansas governor have occurred among groups of people who follow campaign news ***most closely***: better educated, older and more affluent people. The current survey finds half of people with some college training and half of people in affluent households saying that they have an unfavorable opinion of Bill Clinton.

In terms of the Times Mirror typology, Clinton's personal image has been most damaged among Independent groups who he needs to woo away from George Bush. Among young ***"Upbeats"*** who are moderate Republicans - Clinton's unfavorable rating doubled from 19% in February to 38% in the current survey. Similarly, his unfavorable rating increased to 39% among angry ***"Disaffecteds"*** who voted for Bush in 1988, but have been strongly critical of his job performance ever since.

Opinion of Clinton has also deteriorated among ***"Seculars,"*** the Independents who lean to the Democratic party, and among ***"60's Democrats"*** who are a core Democratic group. Both of these groups represent the more affluent and better educated elements in the Democratic party. Among Seculars as many as 43% said they had an unfavorable opinion of Clinton (up from 26% in February), while 29% of 60's Democrats do (16% in February).

TABLE 3
TRENDS IN
CLINTON'S UNFAVORABLE RATINGS
(Percent Rating Clinton Very or Mostly Unfavorable)

	March 1992	February 1992	Diff.
Total	40	31	+9
Male	39	32	+7
Female	40	30	+10
18-29	32	26	+6
30-49	43	34	+9
50+	40	30	+10
Coll grad	51	32	+19
Some coll.	49	36	+13
HS grad	33	30	+3
Some HS	26	25	+1
50K+	52	34	+18
30-49K	45	36	+9
20-29K	36	29	+7
>20K	30	26	+4
East	40	37	+3
Midwest	34	29	+5
South	32	29	+3
West	58	29	+29
Republican	57	44	+13
Democrat	22	22	-
Independent	44	26	+18

CONTINUED....

	March 1992	February 1992	Diff.
Total	40	31	+9
Enterpriser	67	50	+17
Moralist	56	45	+11
Upbeat	38	19	+19
Disaffected	39	34	+5
Secular	43	26	+17
60s Dem	29	16	+13
New Dealer	26	45	-19
Pocketbook	18	20	-2
Bystanders	41	26	+15

Bush Still Seen As Not Doing Enough

As troubled as Clinton's candidacy is and despite Jerry Brown's high negatives, George Bush defeats his would-be Democratic challengers by a thin seven percentage points (in the neutral subsample). At the core of the public's problem with the President is the unchanged belief that he is not doing enough to improve economic conditions. The poll found 76% subscribing to this view, compared to 21% feeling that George Bush is doing all he can to improve the economy. These percentages are identical to those found in response to this question in an early January Times Mirror survey.

The only good news for the White House in this regard is that since January there has been a small increase in the percentage of the public describing the economy as in recovery (16%, up from 7% in the previous poll). However, the vast majority of the public continues to see the economy either as in recession (41%), or depression (40%).

Unease with the Democratic nominees and discontent with the President's job performance translates into an extremely fluid and volatile electorate. The vast majority of the public say they are only moderate supporters of either Bush or Clinton in response to the test election question. Only 19% of the 50% who support Bush say they support him strongly while 31% term themselves moderate supporters of the President. Of the 43% who prefer Clinton only 9% said they were strong supporters.

Looking at voter motivations more closely, Bush supporters have a more positive outlook on their choice than do Clinton supporters. ***A majority of Bush supporters say they prefer the President because of their views about him rather than because they oppose Bill Clinton. In contrast, a majority of Clinton's support is anti-Bush not pro-Clinton.***

TABLE 4
REASONS FOR CANDIDATE SUPPORT

	*Neutral**
Major Reason for Support	
George Bush	50
Repub. party loyalty/preference	12
Bush's political stands	8
Bush's personality/abilities	11
Oppose Clinton	15
Other reason	2
Can't say	2
Bill Clinton	43
Demo. party loyalty/preference	6
Clinton's political standS	3
Clinton's personality/abilities	2
Oppose Bush	28
Other reason	2
Can't say	2
	100

*Form 2 (F2) of the questionnaire

Candidate Imagery

When participants in the survey were asked to explain their preferences for the two candidates in their own words Bush supporters most often affirmed the President's job performance in general (14%) or mentioned his experience (8%) or the Persian Gulf crisis (6%), but as many as 12% volunteered that the President was the lesser of two evils.

The most frequent reasons offered by Clinton supporters focused principally on the need for change (36%), while fewer mentioned the belief that Clinton would be a better President for poor and middle class people (10%) or loyalty to the Democratic party (9%).

The devastation done to Bill Clinton's personal image is underscored by the fact that most people say they know little about him as a man or little about what he stands for, but what little the public does know is heavily accented with negative description. Just 11% say they know a lot about what he stands for and 8% say they know a lot about him personally.

When asked what comes to mind about what Bill Clinton stands for, 8% mentioned his being an advocate of the middle class, but nearly as many mentioned his being personally untrustworthy (7%) and 7% cite the scandals that have plagued his campaign. In total, 19% made some negative comment in response to what Clinton stands for, while 31% made a neutral or positive comment.

Obviously the President is well known to the public, but the content of the playback on what he stands for was even more negative than comments made about Clinton. The most frequent response to what Bush stands for was that he represents rich people, the upper class (11%). Nine percent were positive in saying that he had the best interest of the country at heart, while 7% mentioned his poor performance on the economy. In total 28% of the playback on the President was negative and 28% was positive or neutral.

The image profile of the two likely fall candidates reflects the problems that Clinton has had in his nomination campaign so far and personal assets that the President can bring to bear against a candidate like Clinton. By a 72% to 9% margin respondents said the phrase ***"good family man"*** better described Bush than Clinton. ***"Good judgment in a crisis"*** was attributed to Bush over Clinton by a 68% to 15% margin. The President was also more often seen as personally likable (44% to 33%), honest and truthful (46% to 18%), intelligent (48% to 17%) and better able to think long range (50% to 26%).

Clinton was more often seen as being better able to bring about change (46% to 30%). Tellingly, the public made no clear candidate association with the phrase ***"a typical politician"*** - 37% said it better fit Clinton and 35% Bush. But as much as 22% of the sample volunteered that the phrase applied equally to ***both*** men.

Time Mirror's interviewees were somewhat more likely to say that the phrase ***"cares about people like me"*** applied to Clinton than to Bush (36% vs. 33%); however, as many as 16% volunteered that it applied to ***neither*** candidate.

Bi-partisan Discontent With Candidates

These perceptions and evaluations of the candidates reflect the discontent that voters expressed about the choice available to them this year and their resulting frustration with the primary process. Dissatisfaction with both the candidates and the primary process is bi-partisan. Sixty-one percent of Republicans, 65% of Democrats and 72% of Independents voiced unhappiness with the choices this year. Unhappiness with the candidates was highest (81%) among well-informed Seculars who lean Democratic, and almost as high among Disaffecteds who lean Republican (72%).

Unhappiness with the primaries selection system is much higher than it was in 1988 or even than it was in 1980 when, in a somewhat comparable situation, the public was disillusioned with incumbent Carter and had reservations about then challenger, Reagan[1]. In the current survey 59% of the public said they did ***not*** believe that the primary process has been a good way of determining the best qualified candidates, while 31% endorsed it. In June of 1988 the balance of opinion was positive about the primary system (48% to 37%), while in 1980 40% said the primary system was an effective one, compared to 48% who said it was not.

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[1] A June 1980 Gallup Poll found Jimmy Carter with 70% positive, 27% negative personal rating, while Ronald Reagan was rated positively by 70% and negatively by 28%.

Public Doesn't Blame the Press

Although the public is critical of both the primary system and the candidates, criticism of the press coverage of the campaign has not increased despite the strongly negative coverage of the Clinton story. In the current poll 63% of the public rated the campaign coverage positively ***(excellent or good)*** compared to 56% in February. When asked about bias in covering the Democratic campaign only 15% saw the press as biased ***against*** a particular candidate and 16% as biased in ***favor*** of a candidate. In a follow-up question just 11% volunteered that the press was biased against Bill Clinton.

When questioned directly about press coverage of each of the candidates, most people said they felt the press was being fair in the way they covered these men. Seventy-eight percent of the sample judged coverage of Bush's campaign as fair, while only 13% saw it as unfair. Coverage of Clinton was seen as fair by a margin of 68% to 23% and Brown by 68% to 19%.

Voter Interest High

Despite the frustrations with the candidates and the campaign, public interest in the election is substantially higher than it was a month ago and people say they are more interested in this election than they were in the 1988 election campaign. The percentage of people saying they were paying close attention to the Democratic race jumped from 19% in February to 35% in March. Twenty-four percent of the sample said they were paying close attention to the Republican race. News about the Democratic race was most frequently cited (by 30%) as the story being followed most closely by the American public in ***Times Mirror's News Interest Index***. The number two story was the Congressional check bouncing scandal (mentioned by 23%).

A majority of the sample (57%) said they were more interested in politics this year than they had been in 1988. Democrats spoke of greater interest in politics this year more often than did Republicans (63% vs 54%).

Perot Is Noticed

In response to a campaign information question, an impressive 31% of respondents correctly volunteered that Perot was the ***"prominent businessman considering running for President as a third party candidate."*** However, in a follow-up favorablity question, the Texas businessman received only mixed grades -- 29% favorable and 21% unfavorable from the 50% of the sample who voiced an opinion of Perot.

In the Times Mirror typology, Perot receives his highest ratings from Enterprisers (41%-18%, Favorable/Unfavorable). His ratings are somewhat less positive from other Republican leaning groups - Upbeats (38%-23%), and Moralists (32-22%). Core Democratic groups such as the 60's Democrats (20%-32%) and Pocket Book Democrats (21%-23%) give Perot much lower scores.

Perot also showed more potential among two quite divergent Independent groups. Seculars who lean Democratic gave him a positive rating (32%-15%) as did Disaffecteds (31%-19%), who lean Republican.

TABLE 5
BELIEFS ABOUT CONGRESSIONAL CHECK BOUNCING

	Believe Own Congressman Bounced Checks	Would Definitely Vote Against Congressman If They Bounced Checks	
		10	100
Total	39	30	49
Gender			
Men	43	39	49
Women	35	21	48
Age			
18-29	31	24	56
30-49	42	25	49
50+	41	40	43
Education			
< High School	29	52	40
H.S. Graduate	40	28	55
Some College	41	26	58
College Grad.	44	19	36
Region			
East	34	33	47
Midwest	45	30	42
South	37	34	52
West	41	20	56
Party Id			
Republican	41	37	54
Democrat	36	31	44
Independent	40	24	51

TABLE 6
BELIEFS ABOUT CONGRESSIONAL CHECK BOUNCING

Approval Rating of Own Congressman	Total	Believe Own Congressman Bounced Checks		
		Yes	No	Don't Know
Approve	45	40	53	42
Disapprove	37	45	34	30
Don't Know/No Answer	18	15	13	28

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among a nationally representative sample of 1,668 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period of March 26-29, 1992. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on ***only*** Form 1 (N=557) ***or*** Form 2 (N=557) ***or*** Form 3 (N=554), the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 5 percentage points. For results based on Form 1 ***and*** Form 2 (N=1,114) ***or*** Form 1 ***and*** Form 3 (N=1,111) ***or*** Form 2 ***and*** Form 3 (N=1,111), the error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE TIMES MIRROR TYPOLOGY

In 1987 Times Mirror developed a unique voter classification scheme that divided the electorate on the basis of political values, party identification and measures of political participation. Since its inception Times Mirror has conducted numerous nationwide surveys using this political typology, the most recent of which was reported in ***THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS & POLITICS - 1990***. The typology was developed for administration by personal interview in that it requires about 15 minutes of interviewing time to ask the full battery of questions.

Over the past year the ***Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press*** has developed a modified form of the Times Mirror Typology that is suitable for telephone interviewing in that it requires many fewer questions. It also divides the public into fewer groups (9 vs. 11) and therefore can be used with more limited sample size surveys. It is our intention to utilize the modified typology scheme on each of our pre-election surveys in 1992. While this form of the typology does not offer the full analytical richness of the original scheme, we think it continues to be an important and highly useful way of looking at the electorate.

The modified typology is based on the important concepts about the homogeneity of various voting groups that we uncovered in our earlier research.

There are two core Republican groups:

Enterprisers: Enterprisers are fiscal conservatives who hold positive attitudes toward business and are anti-welfarist. They are affluent, well-educated and well-informed. Enterprisers are much less likely than other Americans to agree with the popular notion that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer (43% vs. 81%). Their pro-business stance leads them to differ with most Americans on the idea that too much power is concentrated in the hands of big companies. While 82% of other Americans feel that this is true, only 48% of Enterprisers agree. Enterprisers are also less likely to completely agree that society should make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity (55% vs. 41%).

Moralists: Moralists are highly religious, socially conservative and show low levels of concern for personal freedoms. They are less affluent, older, and many live in the South. A vast majority of Moralists agree that books with dangerous ideas should be banned from public schools, which sets them firmly to the right of the rest of the public on the issue of censorship (89% vs. 39%).

There are three core Democratic groups:

Sixties Democrats: Sixties Democrats are strong believers in peace and social justice. More than any other segment of the population, they disagree with the idea that the best way to preserve peace is through military strength (88% vs. 44%). And two-thirds (65%) of Sixties Democrats completely agree that society should guarantee everyone an equal opportunity. This is a heavily female, middle class, middle-aged group that supports most of the policy positions of the national Democratic party.

New Dealers: New Dealers are older Democrats who experience little financial pressure and are more socially conservative than the national Democratic Party. Drawn heavily from the South, many of these old-time Democrats have party roots that go back to Roosevelt. Despite the end of the Cold War, New Dealers still universally agree that the best way to insure peace is through military strength (96%[2]).

Pocketbook Democrats: Pocketbook Dems overwhelmingly agree that they don't have enough money to make ends meet (98%). They are very concerned with social justice, and they believe that government should take an active role in the solution of the socio-economic problems that plague them. One-third of Pocketbook Dems are minorities (32%), and many have less than a high school education.

There are three typology groups that are basically Independent:

Seculars: Seculars lean to the Democratic party, but some identify more closely with the GOP on certain issues. They are strongly supportive of personal freedoms. Seculars are well-informed, relatively affluent, and more often found on the East and West coasts. Their defining characteristic is an almost total lack of religious conviction. While 87% of the rest of the public says that prayer is an important part of their daily life, only one in ten (12%) Seculars hold this view. Their support for personal freedoms is best reflected in their feelings about censorship: 97% disagree with banning books containing dangerous ideas from public school libraries, compared with 48% of other Americans.

Two of the Independent groups lean to the Republican party:

Disaffecteds: Disaffecteds are personally alienated, financially pressured and deeply skeptical of politicians. This middle-aged, lower-middle income group contains many blue collar workers. Disaffecteds are nearly twice as likely as others to agree that hard work offers little guarantee of success (69% vs. 36%). Their political distrust is such that three-quarters (77%) disagree that elected officials care what people like them think.

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[2] Based on combined survey results from November 1991 and January 1992.

Upbeats: Upbeats are also independents who lean to the GOP, but their attitudinal profile is almost the opposite of Disaffecteds. Upbeats are primarily young people who tend to be uncritical of government and other institutions. They also have American Exceptionalist values: 88% of Upbeats agree that Americans can always solve their problems, while only 55% of others agree.

Finally, there is one typology group that is by definition apolitical:

Bystanders: Bystanders have an almost total lack of interest in politics and public affairs. This urban, lower socio-economic group contains many young singles. Forty-six percent of Bystanders say they seldom vote.

The table below shows the percentage of the survey respondents in each typology group for this survey.

	PERCENT
Enterprisers	13
Moralists	11
Upbeats	7
Disaffecteds	17
Bystanders/Other	15
Seculars	8
60's Democrats	7
New Dealers	4
Pocketbook Dems.	17

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
POLITICAL SURVEY IV - NATIONAL
MARCH 26-29, 1992
N=1,668

SEX: 1[ ]Male 2[ ]Female

INTERVIEWER'S NAME: ____________

TIME STARTED: ____________

INTERVIEWER'S I.D.: ____________

TIME FINISHED: ____________

PAGE NUMBER: ____________

LENGTH: ____________

REPLICATE NUMBER: ____________

REGION:
1 East
2 Midwest
3 South
4 West

STRATUM:
1 Stratum One
2 Stratum Two
3 Remainder

DATE: ____________

INTRODUCTION: Hello, we are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

March 1992		NEWS INTEREST INDEX Feb 1992	Jan 1992	Nov 1991	Oct 1991	July 1991	May 1991	March 1991
38	Approve	39	46	55	61	67	77	84
52	Disapprove	53	43	33	28	23	16	10
10	Don't know	8	11	12	11	10	7	6
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.1a Do you approve or disapprove of the way your own representative to the US House in Congress is handling his or her job?

Mar 1992		Dec* 1991
45	Approve	60
37	Disapprove	28
18	Don't know	12
100		100

*** Source = Washington Post**

Q.3 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. **(READ AND ROTATE LIST)**

	Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK
e. The Congressional check bouncing scandal	36	41	15	8	*=100
g. The race for the Democratic Presidential nomination	35	40	16	9	*=100
h. The race for the Republican presidential nomination	24	40	22	13	1=100

THINKING ABOUT THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SPECIFICALLY...

Q.7 All in all, how would you rate the job the press has done in covering the presidential campaign so far; excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

Mar 1992		Feb 1992
12	Excellent	11
51	Good	45
28	Only Fair	32
6	Poor	7
3	Don't know	5
100		100

Q.8 Are you more interested or less interested in politics this year than you were in 1988?

Mar 1992		1980*	1976*
57	More	56	42
27	Less	17	29
14	Same - (Vol)	24	28
2	Can't say	3	1
100		100	100

*Source = Newsweek Poll

Q.9F1,2 Thinking about the presidential primaries so far, generally do you think they have been a good way of determining who the best qualified nominees are or not?

Mar 1992		1988*	1980**
31	Yes	48	40
59	No	37	48
10	Don't know	15	12
100		100	100

*Source = Gallup Poll
**Source = Newsweek Poll

Q.10F1,2 In their coverage of the Democratic presidential candidates so far, do you think news organizations have been biased in favor of a candidate, biased against a candidate or do you think they have shown no bias in their coverage?

Q.11F1,2 Which candidate or candidates have they been biased against?

16		Biased in favor
15		Biased against
	4	Paul Tsongas
	1	Robert Kerrey
	2	Tom Harkin
	5	Jerry Brown
	11	Bill Clinton
	4	Other
	1	Can't say
12		Biased in favor and against
47		No bias
10		Don't know
100		

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT SOME THINGS THAT HAVE BEEN IN THE NEWS - NOT EVERYONE WILL HAVE HEARD ABOUT THEM

Q.12F1,3 In the elections last week do you happen to know did the whites in South Africa vote to keep the apartheid system or did they vote to dismantle it?

7	Keep apartheid
43	Dismantle it
50	Don't know
100	
N=1111	

Q.13F1,3 Do you happen to know which candidate has criticized President Bush for his support of the National Endowment on the Arts? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

17	Pat Buchanan
8	Other
75	Can't say
100	
N=1111	

Q.14F1,3 Do you happen to know which candidate has said that he doesn't take campaign contributions of more than $100 and asks voters to call an 800 number to make a pledge? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

41	Jerry Brown
4	Other
55	Can't say
100	
N=1111	

Q.15F1,3 A prominent businessman is said to be considering running for President as a third party candidate, do you happen to know who he is? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

31	H. Ross Perot
3	Other
66	Can't say
100	
N=1111	

Q.16F1,3 Last week one of the top Democratic contenders for the presidential nomination dropped out of the race - do you happen to know who that was? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

57	Paul Tsongas
5	Other answer
38	Can't say
100	
N=1111	

Q.17F1 Have you heard that some critics have questioned Bill Clinton's personal honesty and integrity?

86	Yes
11	No
3	Don't know
100	
N=557	

Q.17aF3 Do you happen to know which candidate has most criticized President Bush for breaking his "read my lips no new taxes" pledge? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

25	Pat Buchanan
20	Other
55	Don't know
100	
N=554	

Q.18F1 Did you happen to hear that Bill Clinton has been accused of a conflict of interest in steering state business to his wife Hillary's law firm?

79	Yes
18	No
3	Don't know
100	
N=557	

Q.18aF3 Do you happen to know which candidate has most criticized President Bush for ending the War in the Gulf too soon and failing to remove Saddam Hussein from power? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

14	Pat Buchanan
5	Bill Clinton
4	Jerry Brown
3	Other
1	All of them
73	Don't know
100	
N=554	

Q.19F1 As you may know Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton has been charged with having had extra marital affairs in the past, do you think he has been truthful and honest in the way he has handled these charges or not?

36	Truthful
39	No
25	Can't say
100	
N=557	

Q.19aF3 **ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...**
How would you describe economic conditions would you say the economy is now recovering, or that we are in a recession that will pass fairly soon or that we are in an economic depression that will last a long time?

Mar 1992		Jan 1992
16	Recovery	7
41	Recession	51
40	Depression	38
3	Can't say	4
100		100
N=554		

Q.20F1 As you may know Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton has been charged with joining ROTC as a way of avoiding the draft, do you think he has been truthful and honest in the way he handled these charges or not?

40	Truthful
35	No
25	Can't say
100	
N=557	

Q.20aF3 In your opinion is President Bush doing as much as he can to improve economic conditions or do you think he could be doing more?

Mar 1992		Jan 1992
21	Doing all he can	21
76	Could be doing more	76
3	Can't say	3
100		100
N=554		

On a different subject...

Q.21 How have you been getting most of your news about the Presidential election campaign? From television, from newspapers, from radio or from magazines? (ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS)

Q.22 Do you get most of your news about the presidential campaign from network tv news, from local tv news, or from CNN ? (ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS)

Mar 1992			Feb 1992
83	Television		80
	41	Network	40
	32	Local	37
	30	CNN	29
	2	**(DO NOT READ)** Other	2
	2	Can't say	1
	107*		109*
48	Newspapers		49
14	Radio		18
4	Magazines		4
3	Other		3
*	Can't say		1
152**			155**

***Total exceeds the percent who mentioned tv due to multiple responses**
****Total exceeds 100% due to multiple responses**

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT..

Q.23 Who would you most like to see nominated as the Democratic party's Presidential candidate? **(ROTATE LIST)**

IF ANSWERED '6' OTHER OR '7' DON'T KNOW IN Q.23 ASK:

Q.24 Well, as of today, to whom do you most lean? **(REREAD LIST, IF NECESSARY)**

BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND LEANERS

	Exposed to Clinton's Vulner. *	Exposed to Bush's Vulner.***	Neutral**
Former California Governor Jerry Brown	34	34	37
Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton	52	57	47
(DO NOT READ) Other	6	3	5
(DO NOT READ) Don't know	8	6	11
	100	100	100
	N=262	N=230	N=263

*Form 1 (F1) of the questionnaire
**Form 2 (F2) of the questionnaire
***Form 3 (F3) of the questionnaire

Q.25 Suppose the 1992 Presidential election were being held today. If George Bush was the Republican candidate and Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton were the Democratic candidate who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q.25 ASK:
Q.27 As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican or do you lean more to Bill Clinton the Democrat?

	Exposed to Clinton's Vulner.*	Exposed to Bush's Vulner.***	Neutral**
George Bush - with leaners	54	47	50
Bill Clinton - with leaners	39	45	43
Other/Undecided	7	8	7
	100	100	100
	N=557	N=554	N=557

Q.26 Do you support (insert choice from Q.25) strongly or only moderately?

	Exposed to Clinton's Vulner.*	Exposed to Bush's Vulner.***	Neutral**
Strength of Support			
George Bush	54	47	50
Strongly	19	16	19
Only moderately	35	31	31
Bill Clinton	39	45	43
Strongly	7	11	9
Only moderately	32	34	34
Other/undecided	7	8	7
	N=557	N=554	N=557

*Form 1 (F1) of the questionnaire
**Form 2 (F2) of the questionnaire
***Form 3 (F3) of the questionnaire

Q.28 What is the main reason why you would like to see (choice from Q.25 or Q.27) win the presidential election?

BASED ON NEUTRAL FORM OF QUESTIONNAIRE

	Clinton	Bush
Doing job so far/things going well	0	14
Lesser of two evils/better option	6	12
Had more experience	1	8
Persian Gulf crisis/Strong defense	0	6
Support Republican Party	0	5
Support Democratic Party	9	0
Strong foreign policy	*	4
Position on economy/will improve the economy	6	4
Don't like Clinton's/Bush's morals/ Can't trust	1	4
Image/Just like him better	4	3
Is moral person/good character/ Trust	1	3
Need more time	*	3
Like conservative stance	*	2
Need a change	36	1
Like his stand on morality/ Ethics	1	*
Better for middle/lower class	10	0
Other	6	6
Don't know	29 N=225	32 N=296

Q.29 Would you say that your choice is more a vote for (choice from Q.25 or Q.27) or more a vote against (other candidate)?

	Exposed to Clinton's Vulner. *	Exposed to Bush's Vulner. ***	Neutral**
Direction of Support			
George Bush	54	48	50
Pro-Bush	32	33	33
Anti-Clinton	19	12	15
Undecided	3	3	2
Bill Clinton	39	45	43
Pro-Clinton	13	14	13
Anti-Bush	23	28	28
Undecided	3	3	2

If A 'VOTE FOR" in Q.29, ASK:

Q.30 Is your choice more a vote for (choice from Q.25 or Q.27) personally or more a vote for his party?

If "PERSONALLY" in Q.30, ASK:

Q.31 Do you support him more because of his personal characteristics and abilities or more because of what he stands for politically?

	Exposed to Clinton's Vulner. *	Exposed to Bush's Vulner.***	Neutral**
Major Reason for Support			
George Bush	54	48	50
Repub. party loyalty/preference	9	9	12
Bush's political stand	11	9	8
Bush's personality/abilities	10	10	11
Oppose opponent	19	12	15
Other/undesignated	3	5	2
Can't say	2	3	2
Bill Clinton	39	45	43
Demo. party loyalty/preference	6	8	6
Clinton's political stand	4	3	3
Clinton's personality/abilities	1	2	2
Oppose opponent	23	28	28
Other/undesignated	2	1	2
Can't say	3	3	2

***Form 1 (F1) of the questionnaire**
****Form 2 (F2) of the questionnaire**
*****Form 3 (F3) of the questionnaire**

Q.31aF2 Suppose the 1992 Presidential election were being held today. If George Bush was the Republican candidate and former California Governor Jerry Brown were the Democratic candidate who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q.31aF2 ASK:

Q.31bF2 As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican or do you lean more to Jerry Brown the Democrat?

51	George Bush - with leaners
43	Jerry Brown - with leaners
1	**(DO NOT READ)** Other
5	**(DO NOT READ)** Undecided
100	
N=557	

ASK ALL:

Q.32 What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year would you say that you are satisfied with the choices or not satisfied with the choices?

28	Satisfied
66	Not satisfied
6	Can't say
100	

Q.33 Why do you feel that way?

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Can't Say
Want specific other/Better candidates	2	9	1
Candidates are not well qualified	*	9	2
No differentiation/No real change	2	8	1
Lack of integrity/Can't be trusted	1	7	3
General negative (Democrats)	2	6	1
No substance/Not addressing issues	*	7	0
Need a change/Get Bush out	7	4	0
Negative campaign/Mudslinging	2	5	1
General negative (Both parties)	1	5	2
No leadership qualities/Political stature	1	5	2
Clinton scandals/Character	1	4	0
General positive (Both parties)	9	*	4
General positive (Democrats)	8	1	1
Things going well/Doing good job	8	1	2
General positive (Republicans)	5	*	2
No competition against Bush	1	2	1
No one can improve economy	1	2	1
Dissatisfied with selection process	1	2	2
General negative (Republicans)	1	2	1
Money influences campaign too much	*	2	0
Lack of ethics/Morals	0	2	0
Candidates well qualified	3	0	0
Positive about Clinton's record	1	0	2
Other	8	3	4
Don't know/No answer	43	29	70

Q.34F1,2 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered George Bush's election campaign?

78 Fair

13 Unfair

9 Don't know

100

N=1114

Q.35F1,2 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered Bill Clinton's election campaign?

68 Fair

23 Unfair

9 Don't know

100

N=1114

Q.36F1,2 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered Jerry Brown's election campaign?

68 Fair

19 Unfair

13 Don't know

100

N=1114

Q.37 How much would you say you know about what Bill Clinton stands for? Would you say you know: (read choices 1-4)

11 A lot - **(F2 - GO TO Q.38F2)**

36 A little - **(F2 - GO TO Q.38F2)**

38 Only some - **(F2 - GO TO Q.38F2)**

13 Nothing

2 Don't know

100

F2 - IF ANSWER 1,2, OR 3 IN Q.37, ASK:

Q.38F2 What comes to mind when you think about what Bill Clinton stands for?

8	Advocate for lower/middle class/Unions
7	Untrustworthy/Slick/Not sincere
7	Scandals: Affairs/Draft/Business
6	General positive
6	General negative
5	Economic policies
4	Change/Different than Bush
3	Stands for Liberal/Democratic ideals
3	Tax reform
3	General domestic reform
2	Democrat
8	Other
44	Don't know

Q.39 How much would you say you know about what George Bush stands for? Would you say you know: (read choices 1-4)

45	A lot - **(F2 - GO TO Q.40F2)**
26	A little - **(F2 - GO TO Q.40F2)**
22	Only some - **(F2 - GO TO Q.40F2)**
5	Nothing
2	Don't know
100	

F2 - IF ANSWER 1,2, OR 3 IN Q.39, ASK:

Q.40F2 What comes to mind when you think about what George Bush stands for?

11	The rich/upper class/Money
9	Has country's bet interests at heart
7	Negative effect on economy
6	General negative
6	Persian Gulf crisis/Military strength
6	Foreign policy strength
5	General positive
4	Positive effects on economy
3	Too much attention foreign countries
2	Not had good effect on country
10	Other
36	Don't know/No answer

N=518

Q.41 How much would you say you know about what kind of man Bill Clinton is? Would you say you know: (read choices 1-4)

8	A lot
35	A little
35	Only some
17	Nothing
5	Don't know
100	

Q.42 How much would you say you know about what kind of man George Bush is? Would you say you know: (read choices 1-4)

40	A lot
29	A little
23	Only some
5	Nothing
3	Don't know
100	

Q.43 As I read a list of phrases tell me if you think this phrase better describes George Bush or if it better describes Bill Clinton? **(ROTATE)**

	George Bush	Bill Clinton	(VOL) Both	(VOL) Neither	Don't Know
a. Would use good judgment in a crisis	68	15	4	4	9=100
b. Personally likable	44	33	13	5	5=100
c. A typical politician	35	37	22	1	5=100
d. Can bring about change	30	46	5	11	8=100
e. Honest and truthful	46	18	4	21	11=100
f. Can think long range	50	26	4	7	13=100
g. Is a good family man	72	9	8	2	9=100
h. Intelligent	48	17	26	3	6=100
i. Cares about people like me	33	36	5	16	10=100

Q.44F2 Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the coming presidential election - George Bush or a Democratic candidate?

Mar 1992		Feb 1992	Oct 1991	Oct 1988
71	Bush	65	76	68
19	Democratic candidate	25	12	14
10	Can't say	10	12	18
100		100	100	100
N=557				

NOW, A FEW MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT CONGRESS AND CHECK BOUNCING:

Q.46 Based on what you have heard or read, has the Congressman from your district bounced checks or hasn't he or she been named as one of the check bouncers?

39	Yes, a check bouncer
37	No
24	Don't know
100	

Q.47F2 In general, who's more responsible for the check bouncing scandal the Democrats in Congress, the Republicans in Congress or are both parties equally to blame?

3	Republicans
10	Democrats
76	Both equally
11	Can't say
100	
N=557	

Q.48F2 Do you think that most Congressmen who bounced checks were just being careless and forgetful or do you think they were deliberately overdrawing their accounts?

26	Careless
62	Deliberate
12	Can't say
100	
N=557	

Q.49F2 Do you favor or oppose criminal prosecution of those Congressmen who bounced a large number of checks?

66	Favor
27	oppose
7	Can't say
100	
N=557	

Q.50F1 What would be your reaction if you learned that your Congressman had bounced 10 checks - would you definitely vote against him or her , probably vote against him or her or wouldn't it matter that much to you?

30	Definitely vote against him
31	Probably vote against him
33	Wouldn't matter
6	Can't say
100	
N=557	

Q.50F2 What would be your reaction if you learned that your congressman had bounced 100 checks - would you definitely vote against him or her , probably vote against him or her or wouldn't it matter that much to you?

49	Definitely vote against him or her
29	Probably vote against him or her
15	Wouldn't matter
7	Can't say
100	
N=557	

Q.51F1,2 I'd like your opinion of some people. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who I name. First, would you describe your opinion of (ITEM) as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable? **(ROTATE)**

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
a. George Bush	18	45	23	13	0	1=100(N=1114)
February, 1992	26	38	20	14	0	2=100
January, 1992	20	43	22	13	0	2=100
November, 1991	25	46	17	9	0	3=100
May, 1990	24	52	15	7	0	2=100
January, 1989	24	54	9	4		9=100
*October, 1988	23	35	20	17		5=100
*September, 1988	19	40	20	17		4=100
*August, 1988	25	40	18	12		5=100
May, 1988	11	40	25	17		7=100
January, 1988	11	41	26	13		9=100
September, 1987	18	51	19	8		4=100
May, 1987	11	56	19	7		7=100
e. Bill Clinton	10	43	29	11	1	6=100(N=1114)
February, 1992	15	44	24	7	2	8=100
January, 1992	9	28	11	4	27	21=100
November, 1991	5	25	8	2	39	21=100
f. Jerry Brown	9	40	29	12	2	8=100(N=1114)
February, 1992	8	29	30	14	5	14=100
January, 1992	8	30	24	13	11	14=100
h. Pat Buchanan	6	25	34	19	3	13=100(N=1114)
February, 1992	12	44	20	10	2	12=100
January, 1992	6	27	21	9	18	19=100
i. H. Ross Perot	11	18	15	6	29	21=100(N=1114)

*Registered voters only.

DO NOT ROTATE ITEMS:

Q.900 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)**

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	(VOL) Don't Know
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does	19	35	31	13	2=100
b. Most elected officials care what people like me think	6	34	41	17	2=100
c. Hard work offers little guarantee of success	15	30	30	22	3=100
d. The Federal Government controls too much of our daily lives	33	39	23	4	1=100
e. The government is really run for the benefit of all the people	8	31	41	18	2=100
f. There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies	37	42	16	3	2=100
g. As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want	13	45	30	10	2=100
h. Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed	54	38	6	1	1=100
i. The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt	21	33	28	13	5=100
j. The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	18	33	33	13	3=100

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	(VOL) Don't Know
k. Prayer is an important part of my daily life	48	33	12	6	1=100
l. Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	25	18	23	30	4=100
m. There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation	30	39	17	10	4=100
n. Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer	41	39	15	4	1=100
o. I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	27	29	31	12	1=100
p. I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs	35	53	8	3	1=100
q. I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote	42	33	13	7	5=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT..
Q.901 How often would you say you vote; always, nearly always, part of the time, or seldom?

38	Always
33	Nearly always
13	Part of the time
13	Seldom
*	**(DO NOT READ)** Other **(SPECIFY)**
2	**(DO NOT READ)** Never vote
1	Don't know/no answer
100	

S115-4.10-F

Times Mirror
Center for
The People &
The Press

NEWS Release

FOR RELEASE: TUESDAY, MAY 5, 1992, A.M.

The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92

Verdict in L.A.

Survey V

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BUSH, CLINTON, PEROT IN DEADLOCK;
L.A. Rioting Shadows President's Standing

The civil disturbance in Los Angeles that followed the Rodney King verdict has taken its toll on George Bush's standing with the voters. ***Times Mirror's*** latest nationwide survey, conducted April 30 - May 3 finds the President deadlocked with Democratic challenger Bill Clinton and Independent candidate Ross Perot. 33% of the 1301 respondents in Times Mirror's national sample say they would vote for George Bush if the election were being held today, while 30% say they would vote for Clinton and the same percentage, 30%, would support Perot. (The margin of sampling error is ±3 percentage points). If the election were to be fought between Bush and Clinton absent the Perot factor, the President would glean 46% to Clinton's 43%, within the margin of error.

Just two weeks ago Bush had a significant lead over his two rivals. A ***USN&WR*** report survey of April 14-15 found 40% of a nationwide sampling supporting Bush, 29% Clinton and only 24% favoring third party challenger Perot.

The Times Mirror survey of this past weekend found Americans focused on news about the King verdict and subsequent disturbances to a degree that has been rarely matched in Times Mirror monthly surveys of news attentiveness. 70% of the poll's respondents said they were following this story ***very closely*** and 22% fairly closely. This is a level of public attentiveness equivalent even to the amount of interest the public evidenced in news about the Gulf war.

Public faith in President Bush as national leader of the gulf war enterprise was significantly greater than the level of confidence the public now expresses in the President's capabilities with regard to the problems that were unfolding on the nation's television screens this past weekend.

Respondents to the Times Mirror survey say that Bill Clinton is better able than the President to deal with the country's racial problems. 31% thought Clinton would do the best job and 13% named Perot. Only one in four said they thought George Bush was the Presidential candidate who would do the best job of dealing with the racial situation.

With the problems of the inner cities dominating the public's consciousness, the poll found most in the survey (61%) saying that the next President should give higher priority to the problems of poor people than to the problems of middle income people (25%). In a follow-up question, 41% of those who would give priority to the problems of the poor named Clinton as the candidate who would do the best job of this, while just 15% named the President and 22% Perot.

Clinton was also best regarded, though by a narrower margin, as best qualified to deal with the problems of the middle class. Thirty-two percent of those who would give higher priority to middle class problems favored Clinton for helping the middle class, 26% Bush and 25% Perot.

Bush's problems in this survey are closely linked to the recent civil disturbances as well as to the significant gains that Ross Perot has made in becoming better known to voters in general and in strengthening his appeal to people who typically vote Republican.

Perot's favorable to unfavorable ratings margin has improved from 29% to 21% in March, to 50% to 27% in the current survey. Over this same period more Americans came to hold unfavorable opinions of George Bush. Bush's unfavorable ratings grew from 36% in March to 42% in the current poll. Personal evaluations of Bill Clinton have not changed materially over the past month - 53% favorable/42% unfavorable.

Perot gets his best ratings mostly from groups who are Republican leaning: men (55%), college graduates (59%) and people from households where incomes are $50,000 or more per year (64%).

The trend in voting intentions reflects both a deterioration of George Bush's personal image and Perot's widening constituency, when trended against the mid-April survey. The current poll finds Perot running even with President among groups that a GOP candidate typically dominates. Bush and Perot are in a statistical tie among the affluent, college graduates, whites and among men.

The President garners the support of only 66% of the Republicans questioned, while Perot leads Bush 37% to 31% among Independents. However, Clinton does even more poorly among members of his party. He manages to get the support of only 56% of Democrats, with as many as 28% saying they would vote for Perot. Among Independents Clinton also trails Perot by 14 points (23% - 37%).

DEMOGRAPHIC TREND IN PRESIDENTIAL SUPPORT

	Bush		Clinton		Perot		
	4/92	Curr	4/92	Curr	4/92	Curr	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	40	33	29	30	24	30	(1301)
Sex							
Male	41	33	27	30	25	33	(645)
Female	38	33	30	30	23	27	(656)
Race							
White	42	**36**	25	26	25	**32**	(1052)
Black	15	10	56	61	20	21	(175)
Age							
18 - 29	43	39	30	32	19	25	(328)
30 - 49	40	34	30	28	25	32	(524)
50 +	36	28	26	32	27	31	(434)
Education							
College grad.	46	**35**	26	24	22	**34**	(363)
Some college	38	33	25	30	32	34	(363)
High school grad	40	36	27	30	24	28	(424)
Less than H.S. grad.	33	25	40	38	18	23	(148)
Income							
$50,000 and over	41	**35**	23	24	31	**36**	(231)
$30,000-$49,999	44	43	28	22	24	31	(319)
$20,000-$29,999	40	30	28	34	25	31	(230)
Less than $20,000	32	29	38	38	21	24	(389)
Region							
Northeast	46	**30**	24	**30**	22	**32**	(317)
Midwest	34	32	32	33	25	29	(351)
South	44	39	31	30	19	24	(456)
West	33	29	25	27	34	38	(177)
Party Affiliation							
Republican	72	**66**	8	7	15	23	(350)
Democrat	19	10	56	56	19	28	(442)
Independent	36	31	19	23	37	37	(466)

** 4/92 survey is data from the U.S. News & World Report survey conducted 4/13 - 4/15, 1992.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among a nationally representative sample of 1,301 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period of April 30 - May 3, 1992. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
NATIONAL POLITICAL SURVEY #5
APRIL 30 - MAY 3, 1992
N=1,301

SEX: 1[ ]Male 2[ ]Female

INTERVIEWER'S NAME: ____________

TIME STARTED: ____________

INTERVIEWER'S I.D.: ____________

TIME FINISHED: ____________

PAGE NUMBER: ____________

LENGTH: ____________

REPLICATE NUMBER: ____________

REGION:
1 East
2 Midwest
3 South
4 West

STRATUM:
1 Stratum One
2 Stratum Two
3 Remainder

DATE: ____________

INTRODUCTION: Hello, we are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

Q.3 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. **(READ AND ROTATE LIST)**

	Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK
h. The verdict in the Rodney King case and the riots and disturbances that followed	70	22	5	2	1=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT..

Q.18 Who would you most like to see nominated as the Democratic party's Presidential candidate? **(READ CATEGORIES 1-3)**

BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND LEANERS

May 1992	
11	Former California Governor Jerry Brown
41	Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton
40	Some other candidate
8	**(DO NOT READ)** Don't know
100	

Q.19 Suppose the 1992 Presidential election were being held today. If George Bush were the Republican candidate and Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton were the Democratic candidate who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q.19 ASK:

Q.21 As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican or do you lean more to Bill Clinton the Democrat?

May 1992		Mar 1992
46	George Bush - with leaners	50
43	Bill Clinton - with leaners	43
11	Other/Undecided	7
100		100
		(557)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' GEORGE BUSH OR '2' BILL CLINTON IN Q.19 ASK:
Q.20 Do you support **(INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.19)** strongly or only moderately?

Strength of support

May 1992		Mar 1992
46	George Bush	50
15	Strongly	19
31	Only moderately	31
43	Bill Clinton	43
10	Strongly	9
33	Only moderately	34
11	Other/undecided	7
100		100
		(557)

ASK ALL:
Q.22 And suppose the candidates were George Bush, the Republican candidate, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, the Democratic candidate, and Ross Perot was the Independent candidate, who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '4' OTHER OR '5' UNDECIDED IN Q.22 ASK:
Q.23 As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or do you lean toward Ross Perot, the Independent?

May 1992		U.S. News & World Report April 1992
33	George Bush - with leaners	40
30	Bill Clinton - with leaners	29
30	Ross Perot - with leaners	24
7	Other/Undecided	7
100		100
		(1000)

AGAIN ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT....

Q.34aa In your opinion which presidential candidate George Bush, Bill Clinton, or Ross Perot would do the best job of dealing with the racial situation in this country?

24	George Bush
31	Bill Clinton
13	Ross Perot
4	**(DO NOT READ)** Other
28	**(DO NOT READ)** Undecided
100	
(981)	**Based on total respondents interviewed 5/1-3/92**

Q.34a What should the next President give higher priority to: improving conditions for middle income people or to improving conditions for poor people?

25	Middle income people
61	Poor people
14	Not sure
100	

Q.34b In your opinion which presidential candidate George Bush, Bill Clinton, or Ross Perot would do the best job of improving conditions for (ANSWER IN Q.34a)?

		Middle class	Poor People
1	George Bush	26	15
2	Bill Clinton	32	41
3	Ross Perot	25	22
4	**(DO NOT READ)** Other	3	4
5	**(DO NOT READ)** Undecided	14	18
		100	100
		(359)	(760)

Q.42 I'd like your opinion of some people. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who I name. First, would you describe your opinion of **(ITEM)** as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable? **(ROTATE)**

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
a. George Bush	13	42	25	17	0	3=100
March, 1992	18	45	23	13	0	1=100
February, 1992	26	38	20	14	0	2=100
January, 1992	20	43	22	13	0	2=100
November, 1991	25	46	17	9	0	3=100
May, 1990	24	52	15	7	0	2=100
January, 1989	24	54	9	4		9=100
*October, 1988	23	35	20	17		5=100
*September, 1988	19	40	20	17		4=100
*August, 1988	25	40	18	12		5=100
May, 1988	11	40	25	17		7=100
January, 1988	11	41	26	13		9=100
September, 1987	18	51	19	8		4=100
May, 1987	11	56	19	7		7=100
b. Bill Clinton	11	42	32	10	*	5=100
March, 1992	10	43	29	11	1	6=100
February, 1992	15	44	24	7	2	8=100
January, 1992	9	28	11	4	27	21=100
November, 1991	5	25	8	2	39	21=100
c. Ross Perot	11	39	20	7	2	21=100
March, 1992	11	18	15	6	29	21=100

C9115-8 11-E

Times Mirror
Center for
The People &
The Press

N E W S Release

1875 Eye Street, N.W., Suite 1110
Washington, D.C. 20006
202/293-3126

FOR RELEASE: FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1992, A.M.

The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92

Bush/Clinton/Perot: An Analysis of the Standings

Survey V - Part II

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

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Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press
202/293-3126

Times Mirror's Survey V in the series ***"Campaign 92"*** indicated a virtual three way tie between the three presidential candidates if the election were held today. But the survey's principal focus was on the nature and intensity of voter support for each of the candidates, and voter knowledgability about where each of the potential presidents stand on the issues as compared to the views of the voters who support them. The analysis below reflects the positive and negative aspects of each candidate's current position when those factors are taken into account.

Good News for Bush

* Bush appears to be the voters default choice. Americans say that if by the end of the campaign all of the candidates seem about equally qualified, the ***"tie"*** would go to the incumbent. Thirty-five percent of respondents said they would probably vote for Bush if all three candidates seemed equally qualified for the job. 27% said they would probably vote for Clinton and 25% for Perot.

Bad News for Bush

* Most members of the public (53%) believe there is no chance that conditions in the country will improve should the President be re-elected. Only 34% of the respondents to the Times Mirror survey believe there is a ***chance*** that conditions in the country will improve if George Bush is re-elected in November. Republicans alone (62%) give Bush the benefit of the doubt that conditions might improve if he is re-elected. Political independents who are critically important to Bush's election prospects are in the main doubtful about the President's ability to turn things around. This is especially true of ***"Disaffected"*** voters who lean to the Republican party and were important to Bush's victory in 1988. By a margin of 30% to 53% these angry, distrustful voters see little chance of conditions in the country improving.

* Majorities of voters see Bush as opposed to their own views on major policy issues.

-- Sixty-two percent of the public ***opposes changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion***. However, 51% believes that Bush favors such changes in the law.

-- Over eight in ten (82%) feel the government should guarantee that everyone is covered by health insurance. Bush is seen as opposing rather than favoring this policy by a 47% to 31% plurality.

-- Nearly three in four (71%) favor personal income tax reductions for middle income people, yet only 35% think that Bush supports a middle class tax cut.

-- Two in three Americans (62%) favor increasing taxes on imported products, while 31% oppose this measure. Bush is incorrectly seen as favoring this policy by a 42% to 35% plurality.

-- By a 51% to 43% margin Americans oppose giving financial aid to Russia. Seventy-seven percent think the President favors Russian aid.

Good News For Clinton

* The public sees more parallels between its policy opinions and Clinton's positions than it does with Bush. On balance Clinton is seen as an opponent of changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion (by a 39% to 23% margin). Sixty-four percent think the Democratic candidate favors universal health insurance. Fifty-two percent think he favors a middle class tax cut and slight pluralities see him as opposing aid to Russia and favoring import taxes.

Bad News For Clinton

* The continuing large percentage of voters who hold unfavorable views of the candidate's character cause many potential voters to see him as a risky alternative to George Bush. Clinton's 42% ***unfavorable*** rating is an unusually high number for the principal challenger, and nearly double Dukakis' negative rating at this juncture in the campaign.

* Voter concerns about the risk of changing horses inevitably shadow all challengers for the presidency but Clinton's high negative rating exacerbates his problem. A mere ***5%*** of people with a favorable opinion of Clinton think there is a big chance that he would make a mistake that would harm the country. In contrast, among those who have an unfavorable opinion of him ***39%*** think there is a big chance that Clinton will make harmful mistakes.

Good News For Perot

* Ross Perot has made significant gains in name awareness in the past month and people who have come to know him have formed a generally positive impression of the Texas businessman. Perot's rise in standing in the test election is also a consequence of increasing dissatisfaction with the major party candidates. Perot's favorable rating rose from 29% in March to 50% in April as those unfamiliar with him fell from 50% to 33% over this period.

Bad News For Perot

* Among people who say they are satisfied with the presidential candidates this year, only 17% favor Perot compared to 39% who support Bush and 39% Clinton. However, among the growing number of people who are disillusioned with the presidential candidates, Perot is favored by 34% over Bush (31%) and Clinton (26%).

* Only seven percent of our sample said they knew a lot about what Perot stands for and 34% said they knew a little. However, most said they knew only something (33%) or nothing (25%).

> -- As many as four in ten of those who said they favored Perot, if the election were being held today, said they know little or nothing about what he stands for.

* Specific play back about what Perot stands for is sketchy at best. He is most often identified as a successful businessman (16%) or as a billionaire (12%). Few make specific positive evaluative comments about him: 8% say he is an advocate of the common man, 6% that he is honest, 5% that he could change the economy and 5% mention that he is an alternative to Bush.

Voter Angst

* The dilemma faced by voters in making choices between these candidates is evidenced by the fact that almost equal numbers of voters definitely decided not to vote for these candidates under any circumstance (39% Bush, 37% Clinton, 34% Perot). The number who say they might vote for each of the candidates under certain circumstances is also about equal.

* Potential defections from Bush among Republicans is comparable to the amount of potential defection from Clinton among Democrats. One in four Democrats say there's a chance they might vote for Bush and nearly half say there's a chance they might vote for Perot. One in five Republicans see a chance of their supporting Clinton and 44% a chance they might vote for Perot.

	Republican	***Democrat***	***Independent***
Total	27	34	36
George Bush			
Might vote for	93	25	56
Definitely not	6	69	37
Can't say	1	6	7
	100	100	100
Bill Clinton			
Might vote for	21	85	53
Definitely not	72	12	38
Can't say	7	3	9
	100	100	100
Ross Perot			
Might vote for	44	48	55
Definitely not	43	34	28
Can't say	13	18	17
	100	100	100

Abortion: A Campaign Wild Card

* Sixty-one percent of the public say that they would be unhappy if ***Roe v. Wade*** was overturned. Discontent would be greatest (75%) among women under 30 years of age, who are following news about the high court's deliberations much more closely than other population groups.

Bad News For Bush - The President leads Clinton in a two way test election among young women (52% to 40%) and he also leads in the three way contest among this pro-choice constituency - 39% Bush, 31% Clinton, 24% Perot.

Ambiguity - While most say they oppose changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion, majorities of the public, including young women, favor the specific Pennsylvania restrictions now in question before the Supreme Court.

-- 73% favor parental consent
-- 69% favor husband notification
-- 81% a 24 hour waiting period

Perot's Draw from Bush & Clinton As Seen In the Times Mirror Typology

* Perot's greatest appeal is to people in the middle of the political spectrum and to well educated and well informed segments of the electorate. The probable Independent challenger gets his highest favorablity ratings (68% favorable) from ***Seculars***, who are well informed voters who agree with the Democratic party's positions on most issues but are skeptical of the competency of Democratic candidates. He also gets higher than average positive ratings from pro-business, conservative ***Enterpriser*** Republicans, liberal, middle class ***60's Democrats*** and ***Disaffected*** voters who gravitate to protest candidates.

* These tendencies notwithstanding, ***Perot registers the election support of at least one in five voters in each of the Times Mirror typology groups***. However, as shown below, his impact is greatest among ***Disaffected*** voters where he takes votes away from both Clinton and Bush about equally and among ***Seculars*** where he hurts Clinton more than Bush.

* ***Moralists***, who are social agenda Republicans, are Bush's most loyal adherents in both two way and three way test elections, while ***Pocketbook Democrats*** are Clinton's most loyal constituency.

CANDIDATE PREFERENCE** BY TYPOLOGY GROUP

	TWO WAY CHOICE		*THREE WAY CHOICE*			*PEROT'S IMPACT ON*	
	BUSH	*CLINTON*	*BUSH*	*CLINTON*	*PEROT*	*BUSH*	*CLINTON*
TOTAL	46	43	33	30	30	-13	-13
ENTERPRISERS	83	8	61	5	28	-22	-3
MORALISTS	91	6	70	8	18	-21	+2
UPBEATS	58	34	43	19	28	-15	-15
DISAFFECTEDS	48	38	33	24	36	-15	-14
SECULARS	28	63	15	36	45	-13	-27
60'S DEMOCRATS	22	66	12	47	37	-10	-19
NEW DEALERS	33	63	21	43	32	-12	-20
POCKET BOOK DEMOCRATS	13	80	9	60	26	-4	-20
BYSTANDERS/ OTHER	41	39	30	30	26	-11	-9

**Includes Leaners.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among a nationwide sample of 1,301 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period April 30 - May 3, 1992. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE TIMES MIRROR TYPOLOGY

In 1987 Times Mirror developed a unique voter classification scheme that divided the electorate on the basis of political values, party identification and measures of political participation. Since its inception Times Mirror has conducted numerous nationwide surveys using this political typology, the most recent of which was reported in ***THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS & POLITICS - 1990***. The typology was developed for administration by personal interview in that it requires about 15 minutes of interviewing time to ask the full battery of questions.

Over the past year the ***Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press*** has developed a modified form of the Times Mirror Typology that is suitable for telephone interviewing in that it requires many fewer questions. It also divides the public into fewer groups (9 vs. 11) and therefore can be used with more limited sample size surveys. It is our intention to utilize the modified typology scheme on each of our pre-election surveys in 1992. While this form of the typology does not offer the full analytical richness of the original scheme, we think it continues to be an important and highly useful way of looking at the electorate.

The modified typology is based on the important concepts about the homogeneity of various voting groups that we uncovered in our earlier research.

There are two core Republican groups:

Enterprisers: Enterprisers are fiscal conservatives who hold positive attitudes toward business and are anti-welfarist. They are affluent, well-educated and well-informed. Enterprisers are much less likely than other Americans to agree with the popular notion that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer (43% vs. 81%). Their pro-business stance leads them to differ with most Americans on the idea that too much power is concentrated in the hands of big companies. While 82% of other Americans feel that this is true, only 48% of Enterprisers agree. Enterprisers are also less likely to completely agree that society should make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity (55% vs. 41%).

Moralists: Moralists are highly religious, socially conservative and show low levels of concern for personal freedoms. They are less affluent, older, and many live in the South. A vast majority of Moralists agree that books with dangerous ideas should be banned from public schools, which sets them firmly to the right of the rest of the public on the issue of censorship (89% vs. 39%).

There are three core Democratic groups:

Sixties Democrats: Sixties Democrats are strong believers in peace and social justice. More than any other segment of the population, they disagree with the idea that the best way to preserve peace is through military strength (88% vs. 44%). And two-thirds (65%) of Sixties Democrats completely agree that society should guarantee everyone an equal opportunity. This is a heavily female, middle class, middle-aged group that supports most of the policy positions of the national Democratic party.

New Dealers: New Dealers are older Democrats who experience little financial pressure and are more socially conservative than the national Democratic Party. Drawn heavily from the South, many of these old-time Democrats have party roots that go back to Roosevelt. Despite the end of the Cold War, New Dealers still universally agree that the best way to insure peace is through military strength (96%[1]).

Pocketbook Democrats: Pocketbook Dems overwhelmingly agree that they don't have enough money to make ends meet (98%). They are very concerned with social justice, and they believe that government should take an active role in the solution of the socio-economic problems that plague them. One-third of Pocketbook Dems are minorities (32%), and many have less than a high school education.

There are three typology groups that are basically Independent:

Seculars: Seculars lean to the Democratic party, but some identify more closely with the GOP on certain issues. They are strongly supportive of personal freedoms. Seculars are well-informed, relatively affluent, and more often found on the East and West coasts. Their defining characteristic is an almost total lack of religious conviction. While 87% of the rest of the public says that prayer is an important part of their daily life, only one in ten (12%) Seculars hold this view. Their support for personal freedoms is best reflected in their feelings about censorship: 97% disagree with banning books containing dangerous ideas from public school libraries, compared with 48% of other Americans.

---

[1] Based on combined survey results from November 1991 and January 1992.

Two of the Independent groups lean to the Republican party:

Disaffecteds: Disaffecteds are personally alienated, financially pressured and deeply skeptical of politicians. This middle-aged, lower-middle income group contains many blue collar workers. Disaffecteds are nearly twice as likely as others to agree that hard work offers little guarantee of success (69% vs. 36%). Their political distrust is such that three-quarters (77%) disagree that elected officials care what people like them think.

Upbeats: Upbeats are also independents who lean to the GOP, but their attitudinal profile is almost the opposite of Disaffecteds. Upbeats are primarily young people who tend to be uncritical of government and other institutions. They also have American Exceptionalist values: 88% of Upbeats agree that Americans can always solve their problems, while only 55% of others agree.

Finally, there is one typology group that is by definition apolitical:

Bystanders: Bystanders have an almost total lack of interest in politics and public affairs. This urban, lower socio-economic group contains many young singles. Forty-six percent of Bystanders say they seldom vote.

The table below shows the percentage of the survey respondents in each typology group for this survey.

	PERCENT
Enterprisers	12
Moralists	11
Upbeats	9
Disaffecteds	18
Bystanders/Other	14
Seculars	7
60's Democrats	9
New Dealers	4
Pocketbook Dems.	17

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
NATIONAL POLITICAL SURVEY #5
APRIL 30 - MAY 3, 1992
N=1,301

SEX: 1[ ]Male 2[ ]Female

INTERVIEWER'S NAME: ____________

TIME STARTED: ____________

INTERVIEWER'S I.D.: ____________

TIME FINISHED: ____________

PAGE NUMBER: ____________

LENGTH: ____________

REPLICATE NUMBER: ____________

REGION:
1 East
2 Midwest
3 South
4 West

STRATUM:
1 Stratum One
2 Stratum Two
3 Remainder

DATE: ____________

INTRODUCTION: Hello, we are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

May 1992		NEWS INTEREST INDEX March 1992	Feb 1992	Jan 1992	Nov 1991	Oct 1991	July 1991	May 1991
37	Approve	38	39	46	55	61	67	77
51	Disapprove	52	53	43	33	28	23	16
12	Don't know	10	8	11	12	11	10	7
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...
INTERVIEWER NOTE: PLEASE FAMILIARIZE YOURSELF WITH THE RESPONSE CATEGORIES

Q.2 What do you think is the most important news event that happened in the nation or in the world in the past 4 weeks? **(DO NOT READ)**

2 OTHER (SPECIFY)
* DON'T KNOW
* REFUSED
11 NONE

International Stories		
The stock market crash in Japan	0	
Domestic Stories		87
Tennis star Arthur Ashe's announcement that he has AIDS	*	
The celebration of Earth Day	*	
The Supreme Court's deliberations about the legality of restrictions on abortion in Pennsylvania	1	
Reports about the condition of the U.S. economy	1	
The execution in California of convicted killer Robert Alton Harris	0	
The Presidential election campaign	2	
The verdict in the Rodney King case and the riots and disturbances that followed	81	
The end of the UAW strike against Caterpillar Tractor	*	
The discovery of scientific evidence of the beginnings of the universe	*	
The California earthquake	2	
The Chicago flood	*	

Q.3 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. **(READ AND ROTATE LIST)**

		Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK
a.	Tennis star Arthur Ashe's announcement that he has AIDS	18	31	30	21	*=100
b.	The celebration of Earth Day	13	25	35	26	1=100
	May/1990	31	37	20	12	*=100
c.	The Supreme Court's deliberations about the legality of restrictions on abortion in Pennsylvania	28	34	24	13	1=100
d.	Reports about the condition of the U.S. economy	39	39	15	6	1=100
	Mar/1992	47	38	11	4	*=100
	Feb/1992	47	37	10	6	*=100
	Jan/1992	44	40	11	5	*=100
	Oct/1991	36	38	16	9	1=100
e.	The execution in California of convicted killer Robert Alton Harris	21	31	28	19	1=100
f.	The stock market crash in Japan	6	16	33	43	2=100
g.	The Presidential election campaign	32	44	16	8	*=100
i.	The end of the UAW strike against Caterpillar Tractor	13	24	25	36	2=100
j.	The discovery of scientific evidence of the beginnings of the universe	9	19	30	40	2=100

Q.4 Which one of the stories I just mentioned, have you followed most closely? **(DO NOT READ LIST. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE.)**

		Story Followed Most Closely
a.	Tennis star Arthur Ashe's announcement that he has AIDS	2
b.	The celebration of Earth Day	2
c.	The Supreme Court's deliberations about the legality of restrictions on abortion in Pennsylvania	5
d.	Reports about the condition of the U.S. economy	4
e.	The execution in California of convicted killer Robert Alton Harris	2
f.	The stock market crash in Japan	1
g.	The Presidential election campaign	12
h.	The verdict in the Rodney King case and the riots and disturbances that followed	63
i.	The end of the UAW strike against Caterpillar Tractor	2
j	The discovery of scientific evidence of the beginnings of the universe	1
	Can't say	6
		100

IF RESPONDENT SAID '99' CAN'T SAY IN Q.4, SKIP TO Q.6

Q.5 In general, how would you rate the job the press has done in covering **(STORY FOLLOWED MOST CLOSELY IN Q.4)**; excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

		Presidential Election Campaign	Verdict in the Rodney King Case and the Riots
19	Excellent	10	22
39	Good	44	38
24	Only Fair	33	22
16	Poor	10	16
2	Don't know	3	2
100		100	100
		(166)	(814)

ASK ALL:

Q.6 In your opinion, which TV network has been doing the best job of covering the news lately - ABC, CBS, NBC or CNN?

May 1992		Mar 1992	Feb 1992	Oct 1991	July 1991	May 1991	Mar[2] 1991
20	ABC	20	19	17	18	18	12
14	CBS	17	18	14	14	13	8
14	NBC	14	14	13	13	14	10
40	CNN	36	37	42	41	41	58
12	Don't know	13	12	14	14	14	12
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

(NOTE: SKIP Q7 IF FOLLOWED PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN MOST CLOSELY IN Q4. MOVE ANSWER FROM Q5 INTO Q7)

---

[2] In March, 1991 respondents were asked which network was doing the best job of covering the "crisis in the Gulf".

THINKING ABOUT THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SPECIFICALLY...

Q.7 All in all, how would you rate the job the press has done in covering the presidential campaign so far; excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

May 1992		Mar 1992	Feb 1992
10	Excellent	12	11
44	Good	51	45
33	Only Fair	28	32
10	Poor	6	7
3	Don't know	3	5
100		100	100

(ASK Q8 IF FOLLOWED KING VERDICT VERY OR FAIRLY CLOSELY, OTHERWISE SKIP TO Q9)

Q.8 From what you know, why do you think the officers charged with beating Rodney King were found not guilty? Was it because their actions were within the law, or because the jury was prejudiced against Rodney King?

15	Actions within law
43	Jury prejudiced against King
19	**(DO NOT READ)** Other
2	**(DO NOT READ)** Both
21	Don't know/No answer
100	
(1203)	

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT SOME THINGS THAT HAVE BEEN IN THE NEWS - NOT EVERYONE WILL HAVE HEARD ABOUT THEM

Q.9 In what country did the President recently suspend Parliament and curb the courts as a means of dealing with a rebel uprising and curtailing drug trafficking?

13	Peru
14	Other
73	Don't know
100	

Q.10 How much have you heard lately about the third party candidacy of Ross Perot? **(READ CATEGORIES 1-4)**

20 A great deal

31 A fair amount

23 Not too much

25 Little or nothing ─┐
                                        ├ **GO TO Q.12**
1 Don't Know ──────┘
100

Q.11 Do you happen to know if Ross Perot decided to run as a third party candidate or is he still considering whether or not to run for President? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

17 Has decided to run

59 Still thinking about it

24 Can't say
100

Q.12 Do you happen to know in which country a new Disney park recently opened? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

47 France

21 Other

32 Can't say
100

Q.13 Do you happen to know which political party has a majority in the U.S. Senate? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

17 Republican

55 Democrat

28 Can't say
100

Q.14 Do you happen to know which political party has a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

12	Republican
49	Democrat
39	Can't say
100	

Q.15 Do you happen to know whether it's legal or illegal for states to pass laws that put restrictions on abortion during the first three months of pregnancy?

31	Legal
31	Illegal
38	Not sure
100	

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.16 How have you been getting most of your news about the Presidential election campaign? From television, from newspapers, from radio or from magazines? **(ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS)**

Q.17 Do you get most of your news about the presidential campaign from network tv news, from local tv news, or from CNN? **(ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS)**

May 1992				Mar 1992	Feb 1992
86	Television			83	80
		46	Network	41	40
		40	Local	32	37
		34	CNN	30	29
		4	**(DO NOT READ)** Other	2	2
		1	Can't say	2	1
		125*		107*	109*
51	Newspapers			48	49
17	Radio			14	18
6	Magazines			4	4
3	Other			3	3
1	Can't say			*	1
164*				152**	155**

*Total exceeds the % who mentioned tv due to multiple responses
**Total exceeds 100% due to multiple responses

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE BUSH IN Q.19 OR Q.21 OR Q.22 OR Q.23 ASK:
Q.24 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for George Bush in the fall or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

54	Chance might vote for him / voted for him in one of the preference questions
39	Decided not to vote for him
6	Can't say
100	

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE CLINTON IN Q.19 OR Q.21 OR Q.22 OR Q.23 ASK:
Q.25 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Bill Clinton in the fall or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

56	Chance might vote for him / voted for him in one of the preference questions
37	Decided not to vote for him
7	Can't say
100	

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE PEROT IN Q.19 OR Q.21 OR Q.22 OR Q.23 ASK:

Q.26 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Ross Perot in the fall or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

49 Chance might vote for him / voted for him in one of the preference questions

34 Decided not to vote for him

17 Can't say

100

Q.27 Do you think there is a chance that if George Bush is re-elected that conditions in this country will get better or don't you think so?

34 Yes chance

53 No chance

13 Don't know

100

Q.28 How much of a chance is there that if Ross Perot is elected President that he would make major mistakes that would hurt the country? **(READ CATEGORIES 1-3)**

16 A big chance

50 Some chance

18 Hardly any chance

16 Can't say

100

Q.29 How much of a chance is there that if Bill Clinton is elected President that he would make major mistakes that would hurt the country? **(READ CATEGORIES 1-3)**

19 A big chance

56 Some chance

18 Hardly any chance

7 Can't say

100

Q.30 If by election time you were to decide that Bush, Clinton, and Perot are all about equally qualified for the job, who would you probably vote for?

35	George Bush
27	Bill Clinton
25	Ross Perot
3	**(DO NOT READ)** Other
10	**(DO NOT READ)** Undecided
100	

ASK ALL:
Q.31 What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year would you say that you are satisfied with the choices or not satisfied with the choices?

May 1992		Mar 1992
26	Satisfied	28
71	Not satisfied	66
3	Can't say	6
100		100

Q.32 How much would you say you know about what Ross Perot stands for? Would you say you know: **(READ CHOICES 1-4)**

7	A lot	**GO TO Q.33**
34	A little	
33	Only some	
25	Nothing	**GO TO Q.34**
1	Don't know	
100		

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' A LOT, '2' A LITTLE OR '3' ONLY SOME IN Q.32 ASK:

Q.33 What comes to mind when you think about what Ross Perot stands for?

16%	Successful businessman/Capitalist
12%	Has a lot of money/Is a billionaire
8%	Advocate for common man/lower class
6%	Honesty/Integrity/Good character
5%	Change/Different than Bush
5%	Could improve the economy
4%	Get the job done/get things moving/get answers
4%	Patriotic/Pro-American
3%	Independent
3%	Run county like a business or factory
1%	Pro-choice
1%	Self-Aggrandizing/Egotistical/Power hungry
1%	Conservative
*	Good record/Ideas about education
6%	Other
33%	Don't know/No answer
108*	
(980)	

Total exceeds 100% due to multiple responses

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.34 Generally, what's the better situation: that a President's political party also have a controlling majority in Congress or is it better that one party control the White House, while the other party controls the Congress... or don't you think it matters too much one way or the other?

26	President's party also control Congress
23	One party control each
40	Doesn't matter
11	Can't say
100	

Q.35 As I read from a list of proposals tell me if you favor or oppose each that I read? **(READ STATEMENT AND REPEAT ANSWER CATEGORIES)**

FORM 1
Q.36 Do you think George Bush favors or opposes...**(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM BELOW)**

FORM 2
Q.36 Do you think Bill Clinton favors or opposes...**(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM BELOW)**

FORM 3
Q.36 Do you think Ross Perot favors or opposes...**(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM BELOW)**

	Respondent	George Bush	Bill Clinton	Ross Perot
a. Changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion				
Favor	30	51	23	17
Oppose	62	27	39	26
Don't know	8	22	38	57
	100	100	100	100
b. The U.S. giving financial aid to Russia				
Favor	43	77	27	21
Oppose	51	11	32	26
Don't know	6	12	41	53
	100	100	100	100
c. Government and business working together cooperatively to make American companies more competitive				
Favor	87	64	69	56
Oppose	10	18	6	8
Don't know	3	18	25	36
	100	100	100	100
d. Reducing personal income taxes for middle income people				
Favor	71	35	52	32
Oppose	25	46	17	19
Don't know	4	19	31	49
	100	100	100	100
e. Increasing taxes on imported products				
Favor	62	42	43	35
Oppose	31	35	14	13
Don't know	7	23	43	52
	100	100	100	100
f. The government guaranteeing that everyone is covered by health insurance				
Favor	82	31	64	38
Oppose	14	47	8	12
Don't know	4	22	28	50
	100	100	100	100

ON A DIFFERENT TOPIC....

Q.37 In 1973 the Supreme Court ruled that states cannot place restrictions on a woman's right to an abortion during the first three months of pregnancy. Would you be happy or unhappy, if the Supreme Court overturns this ruling?

27	Happy
61	Unhappy - **GO TO Q.38**
3	Neither **(VOL)**
9	Can't say
100	

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '2' UNHAPPY IN Q.37 ASK:

Q.38 Would you be so unhappy that you would advise people to break the law over this or wouldn't you do that?

21	Yes	
70	No would not	**GO TO Q.41**
9	Not sure	
100		
(812)		

Q.39 Would you be happy or unhappy, if the Supreme Court does NOT overturn this ruling?

BASED ON PEOPLE HAPPY, NEITHER OR CAN'T SAY IN Q.37

4	Happy
21	Unhappy - **GO TO Q.40**
4	Neither **(VOL)**
9	Can't say
39	
(503)	

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '2' UNHAPPY IN Q.39 ASK:

Q.40 Would you be so unhappy that you would advise people to break the law over this or wouldn't you do that?

4	Yes
90	No would not
6	Not sure
100	
(269)	

Q.41 As I read some restrictions on abortion that are being debated please tell me if you favor or oppose each: **(READ STATEMENT AND REPEAT ANSWER CATEGORIES)**

	Favor	Oppose	Don't Know
a. Requiring that women under 18 years get the consent of at least one parent before they are allowed to have an abortion	73	23	4=100
b. Requiring that married women in most cases notify their husbands before they have an abortion	69	27	4=100
c. Requiring that women seeking an abortion observe a 24 hour waiting period to consider information that doctors provide concerning the risks of and alternatives to abortion	81	15	4=100

DO NOT ROTATE ITEMS:

Q.900 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)**

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	(VOL) Don't Know
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does	16	38	32	13	1=100
b. Most elected officials care what people like me think	5	35	43	16	1=100
c. Hard work offers little guarantee of success	13	29	35	22	1=100
d. The Federal Government controls too much of our daily lives	28	36	29	6	1=100
e. The government is really run for the benefit of all the people	7	34	40	18	1=100
f. There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies	33	45	16	4	2=100
g. As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want	11	45	32	10	2=100
h. Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed	54	37	6	2	1=100
i. The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt	19	35	29	12	5=100

CONTINUED...

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
j. The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	13	31	38	16	2=100
k. Prayer is an important part of my daily life	47	33	12	6	2=100
l. Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	25	19	25	29	2=100
m. There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation	25	38	20	14	3=100
n. Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer	42	39	13	4	2=100
o. I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	25	31	31	12	1=100
p. I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs	35	53	9	2	1=100
q. I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote	40	32	14	10	4=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT..

Q.901 How often would you say you vote; always, nearly always, part of the time, or seldom?

41	Always
32	Nearly always
13	Part of the time
11	Seldom
*	**(DO NOT READ)** Other **(SPECIFY)**
3	**(DO NOT READ)** Never vote
*	Don't know/no answer
100	

Q.902 I'd like to know how often, if ever, you watch any of these late-night comedians or comedy programs. For each one, tell me if you watch regularly, sometimes, hardly ever, or never:

	Regularly	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never	DK
a. Johnny Carson	6	24	29	41	*=100
b. Jay Leno	4	17	23	55	1=100
c. David Letterman	3	20	25	52	*=100
d. Arsenio Hall	9	26	20	45	*=100
e. Saturday Night Live	9	24	21	46	*=100
f. Dennis Miller	2	7	13	73	5=100

(NOTE: IF 4 OR 5 IN ALL ITEMS IN Q902 A-F, SKIP TO Q905)

Q.903 Do you ever hear things about the candidates or the Presidential election campaign on these shows that you haven't heard before?

21	Yes
53	No
5	Don't know
21	Never watch
100	

Q.904 Which one of the late-night comedians or comedy shows has the best political humor this year - the best jokes about the Presidential candidates and the campaign:

18	Johnny Carson
7	Jay Leno
4	David Letterman
12	Arsenio Hall
10	Saturday Night Live
3	Dennis Miller
1	Other **(VOL)**
2	None **(VOL)**
22	Don't know
21	Never watch
100	

Q.905 Do you ever listen to talk radio programs such as the Larry King Show or the Rush Limbaugh Show, where listeners can call in and give their opinions about politics and other issues?

44	Yes - **GO TO Q.906**
54	No
2	Don't know
100	

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN Q.905 ASK:
Q.906 Do you ever hear things on talk radio about the candidates or the Presidential election campaign that you haven't heard before?

25	Yes
19	No
*	Don't know
56	Never listen
100	

C8915-4 12-F

Times Mirror
Center for
The People &
The Press

FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, JUNE 4, 1992, A.M.

The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92

THE CAMPAIGN AND THE PRESS AT HALFTIME

Survey VI

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Overview

The American press community is sharply divided as to whether it has covered the 1992 presidential campaign adequately or responsibly. Press ambivalence about its own performance in the first half of the campaign is exemplified by the dominant view that the barriers between the mainstream and tabloid press have broken down and the common complaint that campaign coverage has focused on the irrelevant and trivialized the issues (57%). But, at the same time, almost half the press (49%) believes that coverage of the current presidential contest is superior to the press performance during the Bush - Dukakis campaign in 1988 and that most problems relating to campaign press coverage are minor in nature.

The national and local press identifies two campaign events as triggering the most significant developments in the presidential contest thus far. The Gennifer Flowers press conference is cited by 20% as the campaign's most important moment. Forty-six percent of the press corps call the coverage of the Clinton character issue the most important aspect of the campaign to date followed by the 17% who believe that the Ross Perot announcement of a potential presidential candidacy has been the campaign's breakthrough event. It should also be noted that among ***"The Powers That Be"***, the principal media decision makers, one out of three of the survey respondents see the Perot entry as the most significant campaign event. One respondent called it ***"a new element in politics."***

JUDGING THE COVERAGE

The press is divided as to whether its campaign coverage is better, the same, or worse than it was in 1988. A majority (51%) of the local press thinks the '92 campaign has received superior coverage to the last presidential run between George Bush and Michael Dukakis. The national press is slightly less sanguine, with 46% believing the press is doing a better job. ***"We're still failing to get at the core issues involving the economy and the budget..."; "there's insufficient analytical coverage of Bush and issues like ecology, education, defense..."; "we focus on the sleaze issues. They're less complex and easily digested."***

Comments such as these reflect a pattern of responses across the full range of survey respondents. 47% of the full sample believe that the '92 press corps is either working at the same level as it did the last time or is not doing as well as in 1988. A gender gap emerges in the assessment of campaign coverage with a majority of male newspeople (51%) seeing the 1992 coverage as better than the last presidential run. Only 39% of the women agree with that assessment. Among the group we call ***"The Powers That Be"*** there is also a substantial contingent of press people who think that the 1992 coverage is ***"worse"*** than in 1988 (24%).

Substantial differences in the assessment of press performance between print and broadcast journalists across a variety of themes and issues is exemplified by the sharp split between them in the ranks of *"The Powers That Be"* as to the quality of the 1992 campaign coverage to date. ***One in four of the nation's senior print journalists and senior executives think that coverage is better than it was in the 1988 campaign while two out of three of the nation's senior broadcast executives and television news figures give higher marks to this year's presidential campaign coverage. Fully half of the print sector of "The Powers That Be" think the current coverage is worse than in 1988. Only two of the broadcasters in the sample offered the same view.***

Although the differences are not nearly as sharp in the broader media community both national and local television news people are more likely than the print press to believe that campaign coverage has improved since the last go round in 1988. ***"There's a lot more willingness of the press to be issue oriented..."; "...contrary to the general view the mainline press is dealing extensively with issues..."; "...coverage of the early debates on C-Span and CNN has had a profound effect on the nature of the campaign..."***. These more positive assessments of campaign coverage are shared across a broad cross section of the survey participants, particularly among members of the television press contingent.

TABLE 1
1992 VS. 1988 PRESS COVERAGE RATING BY MEDIA

	National		Local	
1992 Coverage	TV	Print/Wires	TV	Print
Better	50	43	54	48
Worse	15	23	19	16
Same	30	30	21	33
Can't Say	5	4	6	3
	100	100	100	100
	(103)	(110)	(100)	(100)

The survey's findings reflect sharp differences between the press' assessment of its own impact on the campaign and the views of the general public. Two questions illustrate the point. Asked how much influence news organizations have on the choice of the Democratic presidential nominee, well over half of the press respondents answered ***"about the right amount"*** (56%). But the general public has quite another view. In a Times Mirror survey completed in February 1992 almost three out of five Americans (58%) said that the press has ***"too much"*** influence on the selection of the nominee.

TABLE 2
PRESS INFLUENCE ON CHOICE OF DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE

	Press Opinion	General Public			
	Survey	Feb.	Jan.	Jan.	Oct.
	May/1992	1992	1992	1988	1987
Too much	31	58	53	51	59
Too little	5	5	4	4	5
About the right amount	56	33	40	37	31
Don't know	8	4	3	8	5
	100	100	100	100	100
	(206)	(1227)	(1220)	(2109)	(1501)

THE CLINTON CHARACTER ISSUE

The relationship between press coverage and the fortunes of the Clinton presidential effort offers a snapshot of the ambivalence the press expresses about the way it has covered the campaign. Bill Clinton is seen by all segments of the press community as being responsible for the difficulties he has encountered during his run (67%). Only 12% of the media -- national, local, print or broadcast -- believe the press is principally responsible for Clinton's difficulties with the ***"character issue"*** but almost half (46%) regard the coverage of the character issue as the most significant element of the campaign thus far and just under a third (31%) believe that the character shadow over Clinton is the result of a combination of Clinton's own actions and the manner in which the press has responded to them.

The press as a whole believes it has covered the Clinton character issue fairly responsibly (55%). But very few would go so far as to call the coverage ***"very responsible"*** (7%). One respondent's view that ***"the issues getting most attention are not what is most important in making a choice for president"***, reflected a significant cross section of press response. There is, moreover, a dramatic division in opinion between the most senior print journalists and their broadcast equivalents. Using author David Halberstram's notable phrase, we call these top executives and opinion moulders ***"The Powers That Be."*** Few newspaper and magazine journalists in this group think that the Clinton issue has been handled responsibly. But most major broadcasters match and even surpass the rest of the press community in their assessment that the coverage has been responsible.

The public offers a significantly different assessment of the press' impact on the problems that have confronted the Clinton campaign. Nearly half of the general public

(48%) said that Gov. Clinton's problems were related principally to the way the press had covered him.

TABLE 3
EXPLANATION FOR CLINTON CAMPAIGN PROBLEMS

	Press Opinion Survey May/1992	Public Feb. 1992
Press coverage	12	48
Clinton himself	67	40
Both/Neither	19	5
Don't know	2	7
	100	100
	(413)	(655)

The nature of press coverage in the general election may be foreshadowed by the view (80% of all respondents) that the allegations about Clinton will trail him all the way to election day. Seventy-three per cent of our respondents believe that if Clinton becomes the nominee and these stories persist, the press will feel obligated to look into rumors about President Bush's personal life.

The focus on the *"character issue"* throughout most of the first half of the campaign is particularly ironic since the press as a whole regards Bill Clinton with a good deal more favor than it does President George Bush. The putative Democratic candidate is rated favorably by 55% of the Times Mirror sample. George Bush runs substantially behind at 46%. There are, however, interesting and perhaps significant gender and age differenceS in this response. Male and female journalists under 35 divide almost evenly in rating Clinton favorably (47%) or unfavorably (44%), while George Bush pulls ahead in this group with a majority (53%) expressing a favorable view and 38% unfavorable.

In another example of campaign cross currents of feeling and professional assessment, only 12 percent of the press believes that the Democratic candidate has a good chance to win the presidency. Eighty-four percent of the press community across all media believes that the Democrats' presidential chances are either *"only fair"* or *"poor."*

TABLE 4
CHANCE A DEMOCRAT WILL WIN WHITE HOUSE IN NOVEMBER

	Total Respondents	National	Local
Excellent	1	*	1
Good	12	16	9
Only fair	52	51	54
Poor	32	29	35
Can't say	3	4	1
	100	100	100
	(413)	(213)	(200)

PRESS IMPACT

The level of dissatisfaction with campaign coverage is closely linked to the individual's assessment of the press' impact on the selection of the nominee. Forty-eight percent of those who think the press is doing a *"worse"* job than in the past also believe that the press has had too much of an effect on campaign results. Only one out of four (26%) of those who feel the coverage is better or the same as the past is troubled by press impact on the campaign's course.

A similar pattern emerges in the context of the way the issues are covered. Those who feel that the campaign coverage has been worse than in 1988 feel the issues have been given short shrift and are much more likely to believe that the level of press influence on the campaign has been inappropriate or has helped distort the coverage. Women journalists 39% and journalists under 35 years of age 47% are much more critical of the press role in shaping the campaign than are the men and the older age groups as a whole.

These linkages are particularly pertinent to the reporting on the Clinton campaign. A majority of the respondents who believe that press performance in 1992 is superior or equal to the 1988 performance level think that the nature of the attention paid to Bill Clinton has been responsible. Among those who believe that the press coverage is worse than in 1988 a majority believes that the press has been irresponsible in the way it has covered the Clinton story (63%).

TABLE 5
PRESS INFLUENCE ON DEM. NOMINEE SELECTION AND COVERAGE OF CLINTON CHARACTER CONTROVERSY BY OPINION OF 1992 VS. 1988 CAMPAIGN COVERAGE

	1992 Coverage		
Press Influence	Better	Worse	Same
Too much	27	48	25
Too little	6	5	6
About right	59	42	61
Don't know	8	5	8
	100	100	100
Press Coverage of Clinton Controversy			
Very Responsibly	8	*	9
Fairly Responsibly	65	37	49
Not Too Responsibly	23	47	33
Not At All Responsibly	3	16	5
Don't know	1	*	4
	100	100	100

It is also interesting to note that women members of the press corps aged 18 to 34 regard the Clinton character issue as having had more impact on the campaign (52%) than do their male counterparts (34%). But no matter what the respondents view of how the press has handled the story, all elements of the reporting community believe that the Clinton character issue is relevant to his presidential aspirations.

COVERAGE QUANDARIES

The press corps in substantial numbers believes that there have been several major problems in the way the campaign has been covered. Although only one out of five (22%) say they're generally dissatisfied with the quality of the press product there is considerable dissatisfaction even among those who feel the general performance level is adequate. Most say that there have been major problems with the coverage to date. Fully two-thirds (67%)

believe that there has been insufficient focus on the real issues at stake in this contest. The newspaper and TV cohorts differ sharply in this assessment with fully 65% of the daily print media taking the critical view while the television people (51%) are significantly less dissatisfied with the focus of the campaign coverage. Sixty- five percent of the news magazine representatives agree with their newspaper colleagues that the coverage has tended to emphasize the trivial aspects of the campaign action or to focus too frequently on irrelevancies.

THREE STORIES

In that regard, survey press respondents were asked to assess three press accounts dealing with Bill Clinton's front runner status, a George Bush campaign appearance and one aspect of the Clinton record as Governor of Arkansas. The stories were referenced because each of them had stirred some controversy in the wake of their publication. The respondents replies were emblematic of the generalized concerns that had been expressed about the campaign's coverage problems.

The first story appeared in a national magazine in January of this year, some weeks before the New Hampshire primary. It essentially declared Bill Clinton to be the front runner before a single vote had been cast any place in the nation. Although the story had aroused considerable discussion, 39% of the press sample did not recall it. Of those who did recall the piece, twice as many had a negative reaction as a positive (25% negative vs. 13% positive). The reasons offered for disapproval suggested the story was too speculative, unsubstantiated, or suggested media endorsement of the candidate.

The second, a story that appeared in a number of newspapers in the aftermath of President Bush's February meeting of the National Grocers Association, reported that Mister Bush seemed unfamiliar with automated check out equipment. Survey respondents split evenly (35% vs. 35%) as to whether, from a journalistic viewpoint, they had a positive or negative reaction to the grocery checkout story. 17% of national press respondents said the story was inaccurate or the facts were wrong, and 18% believed the account was blown out of proportion, subjective in its portrayal of the event or unfair to George Bush.

The third, a newspaper investigative piece, appeared in March. The story analyzed dealings between Bill and Hillary Clinton and a business partner who some years later was caught up in the Savings and Loan debacle.

Fifty-three per cent of the national press had a negative reaction to the story. Among the national press respondents, 19% believed that the allegations were tenuous or untrue and 37% believed that the issue was either exaggerated, inadequately investigated or irrelevant. It may be noteworthy that the negative reaction to the Grocery and Savings and Loan scandal stories was considerably greater among the ***"The Powers That Be"*** group than within the rank and file people in the field. There was also a gender gap in the response to the account of Hillary and Bill Clinton's business association. Women were much more likely to be critical (59%) than were men (37%).

LINKAGES

Although nearly half of the national press corps believe that their organizations are putting fewer resources into covering the election campaign than they did in 1988 (46%) only 15% of our respondents in this group think that the reduced emphasis itself has resulted in poorer coverage than in the past. Slightly more than a third of the local media sense a reduction in commitment (38%) and more than a third of those who do believe that the coverage has suffered as a result (12%). But no matter the quantity of resources allocated to the campaign, over seven out of ten respondents believe that their own organizations are giving the campaign the right amount of coverage and only 14% of the entire survey sample believe that a reduction in resources has resulted in lower quality media coverage.

PROBLEMS BIG AND SMALL

Nearly three quarters of the press community believes that a cross section of the issues raised as to press coverage are either ***"minor"*** problems or not problems at all. But over one out of four express concern about these issues as ***"major problems"*** and there is considerable difference between national and local, and print press and TV journalists across a wide range of press issues.

Electability

Majorities of all segments of the press believe that a tendency to judge a candidate's electability too quickly has been a major problem in this year's campaign coverage. However, relatively small percentages of the press community see other aspects of this issue as a major problem. Just 18% describe being ***"too critical of front running candidates"*** as a ***"major problem."*** Only one in four felt that way about the often mentioned criticism that the press gives too much emphasis to ***"electability."*** A similar proportion (27%) feels that ***"building up expectations about a candidate's performance"*** has been a major coverage problem in this year's Democratic primaries.

However, more than 60% of the press as a whole believes the electability factor has been overplayed to some degree. Print press people are more likely to regard the issue as significant than TV, and mid-level print press people across all media (reporters, editors, etc.) are among the most critical of the emphasis given to electability.

Candidate Views

Inadequate coverage of the candidates' positions on issues is considered to be a major problem of the campaign's coverage during the primary season. But there are sharp differences between the national TV and national print media on the question. The print people consider the issue to be a major problem in much greater numbers. Fifty-five percent of the print people as a whole think the press is doing an inadequate job at presenting the candidates' positions, with only 39% of the national TV community in agreement. The difference in perspective is even more sharply illustrated when we look at ***"The Powers That Be"*** group.

Among the senior national newspaper and magazine executives and among the most influential of the print news gathering establishment nearly three out of four regard inadequate coverage of candidates' positions as a major problem. Only one out of four of their opposite numbers in broadcasting agree while four out of ten of the top broadcasters think it is a minor problem. Interestingly, there are no such divisions among the local television and print press. There, across the board, majorities regard the inadequate presentation of candidates' positions as a major problem.

Public Opinion Polls

About one out of three respondents believe that too much reliance on public opinion polls during this presidential run has been a major problem in trying for good campaign coverage. Almost half (48%) of local TV's top management look on the polling as a major problem, but only 20 percent of the people they have in the field share that view. The numbers flip flop in the local newspaper community. There, only 15% of senior management regard poll reliance as a problem. But 40% of reporters, bureau chiefs and mid-level editors think it's a major factor in faulty campaign coverage. The national TV community is almost a doppelganger reflection of the local print divisions. While only 20% of national television's top management people see the concern with polling as troublesome, fully 45% of national TV's mid-level producers and correspondents look at the polling factor as a major coverage problem.

NEW HAMPSHIRE SETS THE TONE

The New Hampshire primary, first in the nation, this year set the tone for press coverage and candidate drama to an even greater degree than any New Hampshire primary since 1972. In six weeks of intense media focus Paul Tsongas emerged as a press favorite (57% of survey respondents said the nature of the press coverage helped his candidacy). Pat Buchanan's strong showing in the Republican primary against an incumbent president came at the conclusion of media attention at a level denied almost completely to David Duke, the only other insurgent Republican candidate for president. Fully sixty-two percent of the participants in the Times Mirror survey said that press coverage had helped the Buchanan run and an equivalent 63% believe that press coverage had hurt David Duke's candidacy. Jerry Brown was also seen, albeit to a somewhat lesser degree, as the recipient of favorable and helpful coverage (47%). Press response to the other candidates in the Democratic contest (except for Gov. Clinton) is seen by two thirds of the press community as having had a neutral impact on their prospects.

TABLE 6
EFFECT OF PRESS COVERAGE ON CANDIDATES
(Based on Total Sample)

	Helped	Hurt	Neutral	(Vol) Both Helped & Hurt	DK
George Bush	22	24	50	2	2=100
Pat Buchanan	62	18	17	2	1=100
Paul Tsongas	57	19	19	5	*=100
Bill Clinton	13	64	12	10	1=100
Bob Kerrey	8	26	63	1	2=100
Jerry Brown	47	27	17	9	*=100
Tom Harkin	8	22	65	1	4=100
David Duke	13	63	21	2	1=100

ONE OF THEIR OWN

The Buchanan candidacy emerges as a kind of litmus test as to press assessment of its own relationship to the story and to its impact on events. A majority of the national press (53%) said that Pat Buchanan benefitted from the fact that he had been a member of the media club, and an overwhelming 85% of the national press feel that the Buchanan run made the campaign more interesting for them as individuals. One newsman put it this way. ***"He gives good soundbites. He's very quotable. Whether you're a print journalist or a broadcast reporter, he's a joy to cover."***

One out of three respondents (36%) said Buchanan's media background helped because he knows how to manipulate the press (18%) or he is treated better and has influential friends (18%). The local press had a somewhat more complex assessment of the Buchanan candidacy. Over 2 out of three members of local media said that the Pat Buchanan run had made the campaign more interesting for them. But only 38% said that his press credentials had helped his campaign.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the Buchanan campaign in New Hampshire came when the exit polls indicated a much closer race than was actually true when the final count was in. Half of the press respondents believe that the inaccurate exit polls produced an inflated press view (50%) of the Buchanan candidacy that continued even after the dimensions of the Bush victory had become apparent.

New Hampshire was also the scene of the Gennifer Flowers press conference. Ms. Flowers, who ranks alongside Ross Perot as the most important campaign influence in the first half of the contest, focused press attention on the relationship between the mainstream and tabloid press.

A majority of the press community (54%) believe that the barriers between tabloid journalism and the traditional press have broken down. But there are sharp divisions within each of the press communities that may reflect the difference in perspective between the most senior executives and those who are active participants in the daily action. Within ***"The Powers That Be"*** group an impressive eight of ten broadcasters think that the barrier has broken down. The print journalists reverse the order. Eight out of ten believe the barrier still stands. The split in view between TV and print is diminished but still significant among reporters, producers and editors in direct contact with daily campaign coverage.

WHAT ARE WE DOING RIGHT?

A number of significant changes have emerged in the pattern of coverage of the 1992 presidential campaign. Most of them receive warm approval from the press community. Ranking at the top of the list are the frequent debates between the Democratic candidates during the primary season. 89% of the national press and 85% of the locals think the debates have had a positive effect on campaign coverage.

Press coverage of campaign commercials also receive high marks from the press. 85% of respondents think that describing and analyzing the campaign's television efforts have improved coverage. But some elements of the television community are less enthusiastic than others. 22% of local TV news management thinks the commercials coverage has had a negative effect.

The advent of C-Span as a major source of campaign coverage also receives high marks. 91% think that C-Span has had a good effect on the campaign thus far and the CNN effort is approved at the same level. CNN is even more popular among the local press than it is among its competitors and colleagues at the national level. Locals give the Cable News Network approval at a rate of 94% with the national press at 88%.

Reduced coverage of the national political conventions and the decision by the four networks to use a single source for reporting on exit polls draws the only substantial criticism of changes in the pattern of coverage. 50% of local media think cutting back on convention coverage will have a negative effect and 38% of their national colleagues agree. While only 29% of the press as a whole believes that a single polling source will have a negative effect there are sharp divergences within the community. 40% of the top field people in national TV news disapprove of the change and 44% of print press reporters and editors are also unhappy about the new limits.

TABLE 7
EFFECT OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS ON CAMPAIGN COVERAGE
(Based on Total Sample)

	Positive	Not Negative or Positive	Negative	Not Much Effect	DK
Press coverage of commercials	85	2	11	1	1=100
One exit poll for all 4 networks	57	4	29	6	4=100
Reduced television coverage of the conventions	38	4	44	4	10=100
C-Span	91	1	1	6	1=100
Frequent debates between nomination contenders	87	3	7	2	1=100
Increased local TV coverage of presidential election campaigns	77	4	10	4	5=100
CNN	91	2	3	3	1=100

SOURCES OF THE NEWS

Members of the press are, of course, also part of the general public. Their information about the campaign comes in part out of their own efforts and as the product of the organizations to which they belong. But they also reach out to a number of other sources to inform them about the campaign and its context. ***The leading national newspapers (The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, the Washington Post, the Wall Street Journal) are the principal outside source of campaign news for all sections of the press including the principal arbiters and decision makers as to what appears on the evening newscasts and front pages all around the country.*** Associated Press finishes in a distant second place with 14% followed by the evening network news broadcasts (7%), CNN (4%) and the weekly newsmagazines (3%).

But even in a press community at the heart of a complex national campaign for the presidency, the electronic media casts a shadow over the future primacy of the national newspapers in setting the news agenda. ***Among members of the press aged l8 to 34 only 23% of the survey respondents cited the national newspapers as their principal source of***

outside information about the campaign. All of the older age groups, from 35 through the 60s, look to the national newspapers at nearly twice the rate of the under 35s in the press contingent.

The press, in the nature of its duties, looks to a number of news outlets in addition to the principal source described above. Here, the weight of the national newspapers is even more impressive and the role of other media as well comes into sharper focus. Eighty-two percent of the national press told Times Mirror that they pay a great deal of attention to the national newspapers. Half that number (42%) among the local media also read those publications with great care. AP is in second place, with 47% paying ***"great attention"***, followed by the evening network news shows at 35%. CNN runs close behind with 30%.

Here, too, the under 35s show dramatically different media usage than their elders. More than half (63%) put Associated Press in first place as a source to which they pay great attention. The network evening news shows (52%) follow in second place and national newspapers such as The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, The Washington Post, and The Wall Street Journal, drop into third place along the "great attention" spectrum (36%).

TABLE 8
PRINCIPAL MEDIA SOURCE

	National Newspapers[1]	AP/ Wire Services	Network News/ CNN	Other	DK
National					
Top level	57	11	13	17	2=100
Middle level	57	11	5	22	5=100
National					
TV	52	10	11	22	5=100
Print/Wires	61	12	5	18	4=100
NATIONAL & LOCAL BY:					
Sex					
Men	42	22	11	20	5=100
Women	37	24	10	25	4=100
Age					
18-34	25	28	17	30	0=100
35-49	43	22	10	20	5=100
50-59	49	18	12	15	6=100
60+	47	20	9	18	6=100
Education					
Post college	47	17	10	18	8=100
College graduate	41	24	10	22	3=100
Less than college	13	25	29	29	4=100
Based in:					
New York	52	11	11	21	5=100
Washington DC	62	8	3	23	4=100

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[1] Includes people who mentioned The Wall Street Journal.

THE PRESS AND THE PEOPLE THEY COVER

Like the general public it serves the American press has its favorites and its *"unfavorites."* As noted above, Bill Clinton receives a significantly higher favorability rating from the press than does President George Bush. But the most popular national political figures in the press community are Jack Kemp, a member of the Bush cabinet and Senator Lloyd Bentsen. Kemp enjoys a 70% favorability rating with only 19% holding an unfavorable view. Democrat Lloyd Bentsen is equally well regarded with 69% and Vice President Dan Quayle has an unusually high unfavorability rating at 73%.

Below is a table recording press response to a cross section of national political leaders.

TABLE 9
FAVORABILITY RATINGS OF CANDIDATES

	George Bush			Bill Clinton		
	Favorable	Unfavorable	DK	Favorable	Unfavorable	DK
Total	46	46	8=100	55	36	9=100
National						
Top level	43	**48**	9=100	55	33	12=100
Middle level	35	**53**	12=100	55	33	12=100
National						
TV	42	**46**	12=100	56	33	11=100
Print/Wires	34	**55**	11=100	54	34	12=100
NATIONAL & LOCAL BY:						
Sex						
Men	45	49	6=100	56	**38**	6=100
Women	46	36	18=100	54	**26**	20=100
Age						
18-34	53	38	9=100	**47**	44	9=100
35-49	43	47	10=100	**52**	36	12=100
50-59	53	44	3=100	**75**	22	3=100
60+	31	69	0=100	**62**	38	0=100
Education						
Post college	47	41	12=100	**61**	27	12=100
College graduate	45	49	6=100	**55**	37	8=100
Less than college	38	62	0=100	**25**	75	0=100
Based in:						
New York	44	51	5=100	54	39	7=100
Washington DC	32	52	16=100	59	25	16=100

RATING THE DEMOCRATS*

	Dick Gephardt			Jerry Brown			Al Gore		
	Favorable	Unfavorable	DK	Favorable	Unfavorable	DK	Favorable	Unfavorable	DK
Total	61	27	12=100	24	67	9=100	69	18	13=100
National									
Top level	48	43	9=100	19	71	10=100	71	17	12=100
Middle level	65	21	14=100	24	64	12=100	65	20	15=100
National									
TV	52	35	13=100	25	64	11=100	62	23	15=100
Print/Wires	64	25	11=100	20	69	11=100	73	14	13=100
NATIONAL & LOCAL BY:									
Sex									
Men	64	26	10=100	20	73	7=100	68	20	12=100
Women	51	28	21=100	38	44	18=100	72	8	20=100
Age									
18-34	56	31	13=100	34	56	10=100	75	12	13=100
35-49	62	24	14=100	22	68	10=100	68	17	15=100
50-59	72	25	3=100	25	69	6=100	72	19	9=100
60+	39	46	15=100	15	85	0=100	46	39	15=100
Education									
Post college	54	32	14=100	17	71	12=100	61	20	19=100
College grad.	64	24	12=100	28	65	7=100	73	16	11=100
Less than college	62	38	0=100	12	88	0=100	50	38	12=100
Based in:									
New York	41	54	5=100	12	83	5=100	68	22	10=100
Washington DC	67	16	17=100	19	65	16=100	65	18	17=100

*(It must be noted with regret that a prominent Democrat, Senator Bill Bradley, was inadvertently omitted from the listings.)

RATING THE DEMOCRATS

	Mario Cuomo			Lloyd Bentsen		
	Favor-able	Unfavor-able	DK	Favor-able	Unfavor-able	DK
Total	60	30	10=100	69	19	12=100
National						
Top level	60	31	9=100	71	17	12=100
Middle level	62	24	14=100	71	15	14=100
National						
TV	56	31	13=100	73	14	13=100
Print/Wires	66	23	11=100	70	18	12=100
NATIONAL & LOCAL BY:						
Sex						
Men	**62**	30	8=100	71	19	10=100
Women	**51**	31	18=100	56	18	26=100
Age						
18-34	**50**	41	9=100	62	25	13=100
35-49	**57**	32	11=100	67	18	15=100
50-59	**75**	19	6=100	72	22	6=100
60+	**85**	15	0=100	92	0	8=100
Education						
Post college	54	31	15=100	68	17	15=100
College graduate	64	29	7=100	69	20	11=100
Less than college	50	50	0=100	75	12	13=100
Based in:						
New York	58	37	5=100	66	24	10=100
Washington DC	57	25	18=100	73	11	16=100

RATING THE REPUBLICANS

	Dan Quayle			Jack Kemp			Jim Baker		
	Favor-able	Unfavor-able	DK	Favor-able	Unfavor-able	Favor- DK	Unfavor-able	able	DK
Total	17	73	10=100	70	19	11=100	61	28	11=100
National									
Top level	21	72	7=100	71	19	10=100	**55**	36	9=100
Middle level	17	68	15=100	67	21	12=100	**68**	18	14=100
National									
TV	19	67	14=100	60	27	13=100	64	25	11=100
Print/Wires	18	71	11=100	77	14	9=100	62	25	13=100
NATIONAL & LOCAL BY:									
Sex									
Men	17	75	8=100	**72**	20	8=100	**64**	26	10=100
Women	20	62	18=100	**59**	18	23=100	**46**	36	18=100
Age									
18-34	28	63	9=100	59	28	13=100	69	22	9=100
35-49	13	75	12=100	67	20	13=100	54	30	16=100
50-59	25	69	6=100	**81**	16	3=100	78	19	3=100
60+	15	77	8=100	**85**	8	7=100	62	38	0=100
Education									
Post college	8	78	14=100	69	17	14=100	58	27	15=100
College graduate	22	69	9=100	70	20	10=100	62	28	10=100
Less than college	0	100	0=100	62	38	0=100	62	38	0=100
Based in:									
New York	15	**80**	5=100	61	34	5=100	61	32	7=100
Washington DC	21	**62**	17=100	72	14	14=100	65	19	16=100

WHO'S WHO?

The cross section of the American press represented in this survey is a reflection of the print and electronic press as a whole. Ninety-one percent of ***"The Powers That Be"***, (they look down through the glass ceiling) are men. Only 9 percent of women of the press operate at the most senior level. Substantial majorities in every segment of the industry are between 35 and 49 years of age.

More than a third of the press corps have done at least some graduate work, substantial majorities are college graduates and less than 10% have had no college training at all. Only 4% of top and mid-level press people are Afro-Americans and only 3% are with national television news or at the most senior level of a national print or television news organization. Although only 12% of television news' top slots are filled by women they hold 30% of the mid-level positions. In the national print press the gender gap is even more obvious. Eleven percent of women print journalists hold top positions and 18% operate at the middle levels of their organizations.

The local press covering this presidential campaign is almost identical in demographic breakdown with the national press corps with two notable exceptions. There is a much larger proportion of news men and news women aged 18 to 34 working in the local press, and women operate at the middle levels of television and the upper management levels of newspaper organizations in significantly greater numbers than they do in the national press.

TABLE 10
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF NATIONAL VS. LOCAL MEDIA
The National Media

	Top level %	Mid level %	Powers That Be %	National TV %	Print/ Wires %
Sex					
Men	88	76	91	77	84
Women	12	24	9	23	16
Age					
18-34	5	8	-	13	2
35-49	64	60	44	59	64
50-59	25	17	24	16	24
60+	6	13	32	12	9
Education					
Post college	39	34	38	36	36
College graduate	56	61	53	59	58
Less than college	4	5	9	4	6
Based in:					
New York	42	25	47	40	24
Washington DC	29	66	44	44	58
Race					
White	95	91	97	94	91
Black	4	4	3	3	4
Other/ refused	1	5	-	3	5
	(84)	(129)	(34)	(103)	110

A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE LOCAL MEDIA

	Top level %	Mid level %	TV %	News paper %
Sex				
Men	84	78	78	84
Women	16	22	22	16
Age				
18-34	14	35	44	5
35-49	64	51	47	68
50-59	13	10	7	16
60+	9	4	1	11
Education				
Post college	28	22	19	31
College graduate	65	70	73	62
Less than college	6	8	8	6
Race				
White	95	91	89	97
Black	-	4	3	1
Other/ refused	5	5	8	2
Based in:				
New York	5	3	6	2
Washington DC	-	16	-	16
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)

A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE NATIONAL MEDIA - PART II

	TELEVISION		PRINT/WIRE	
	Top	Middle	Top	Middle
	%	%	%	%
Sex				
Men	88	70	89	82
Women	12	30	11	18
Age				
18-34	8	16	2	2
35-49	70	52	59	68
50-59	15	18	34	17
60+	8	14	4	12
Education				
Post college	40	33	38	35
College graduate	57	60	54	61
Less than college	-	6	7	4
Race				
White	98	92	93	89
Black	2	3	5	5
Other/ refused	-	5	2	6
	(40)	(63)	(44)	(66)

A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE LOCAL MEDIA - PART II

	TELEVISION		NEWSPAPERS	
	Top	Middle	Top	Middle
	%	%	%	%
Sex				
Men	88	68	80	88
Women	12	32	20	12
Age				
18-34	26	62	2	8
35-49	64	30	64	72
50-59	8	6	18	14
60+	2	-	16	6
Education				
Post college	20	18	36	36
College graduate	72	74	58	66
Less than college	8	8	4	8
Race				
White	92	86	98	96
Black	-	6	-	2
Other/ refused	8	8	2	2
	(50)	(50)	(50)	(50)

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

In Brief

This survey is based on 413 telephone interviews with journalists and news executives conducted during the period April 20 - May 8, 1992. The survey was designed to represent the opinions of members of the national news organizations, mostly headquartered in New York and Washington, as well as the opinions of journalists in local media organizations around the country. 213 interviews were conducted with members of the national press corps and 200 with local media.

Within each of these segments half of the interviews were conducted with news management executives - top level editors, news division senior executives, executive producers. The other half of the interviews were with middle level people in organizational terms whose principal or sole responsibilities include political coverage - DC Bureau chiefs, political reporters, columnists, correspondents.

The interview included a mix of open-ended and close-ended questions and on average took 10 to 15 minutes to administer. So as to avoid placing an excessive burden on busy respondents, two forms of the questionnaire were employed to minimize the time required for many of the "list" and multiple item questions.

To encourage participation all potential respondents were mailed an advance letter explaining the nature and purpose of the survey. Multiple call backs, both day and evening were made to complete interviews with respondents over the three week field period.

Response to the survey was quite positive. For the national survey only 19 potential respondents refused to be interviewed and in local markets 56 refusals were recorded. Given the high rate of response among the national press corps, we were able to identify a subset of respondents as ***"The Powers That Be"***. These included the very top editors or news executives of national newspapers and magazines, top networks news executives, executive producers of the most widely viewed news broadcasts, and nationally known columnists, anchors and political correspondents. In total 34 respondents fell into this media elite category - 22 from broadcasting and 12 from print.

Design of the Sample

The sample for the Times Mirror Press Survey was designed to represent both national and local media organizations and various levels of responsibility within news organization. First, media organizations at the national and local level were selected and then, within selected organizations, persons holding specific professional titles were selected. The specific sampling procedures are outlined below.

The sample design for this survey involved measurement of three dimensions of the media:

1. Importance of medium in terms of audience size of market/influence upon populace or other media

2. Type of medium, e.g., television, newspaper, radio, wires

3. Level of responsibility of the individual sample member

The three dimensions were sub-defined as follows:

1. Audience size/market
   a. National audience
   b. Local audience

2. Type of medium
   a. Newspapers
   b. Television stations and networks
   c. Cable networks
   d. Wire services
   e. Radio stations and networks
   f. Magazines

3. Level of responsibility
   a. ***"Top"*** - broadly defined as executive editors, senior broadcast executives.
   b. ***"Middle"*** - broadly defined as correspondents and reporters

The specific sampling frames employed to select organizations were ***Editor and Publisher International Yearbook 1990, Broadcasting and Cablecasting Yearbook 1990, Gale Directory of Publications and Broadcast Media 1990.***

Examination of the sampling frames and other sources suggested a two stage sampling strategy. Media organizations were first selected as described.

MEDIA ORGANIZATIONS SAMPLED

NATIONAL SAMPLE

Network Television Stations

- ABC
- CBS
- CNN
- NBC
- CSPAN

Televisions Chains with Washington, D.C. Bureaus

- Gannett
- Cox
- Group W
- Conus
- Hearst
- King

Top Circulation/Influence Newspapers

- Wall Street Journal
- USA Today
- Los Angeles Times
- New York Times
- New York Daily News
- Washington Post
- Chicago Tribune
- Detroit Free Press
- Boston Globe
- Philadelphia Inquirer
- New York Post
- Miami Herald
- Atlanta Constitution

Wire Services
- Associated Press International
- United Press International
- Reuters

News Services
- Knight-Ridder
- Copley
- Gannett
- Hart Hanks
- Hearst
- McClatchy Newspapers

News Magazines
- Newsweek
- Time
- US News and World Report

Radio Stations and Networks
- Capital Cites/ABC Inc.
- NBC
- National Public Radio
- Mutual News Radio
- Sheridan Broadcasting
- Associated Press Broadcast
- CBS
- United Radio Network
- American Public Radio
- UPI
- National Black Network

LOCAL SAMPLE

Television Stations
- Random sample of all stations listed in the top 100 markets

Newspapers
- Top 100 newspapers by circulation (excluding those already selected for the national sample)

Within each sampled organization, individuals holding certain professional titles (outlined below) were selected. More than one individual was selected in each organization. Given the variable nature of professional titles in different organizations it was sometimes necessary to select people with titles different than those listed but a title with a comparable level of responsibility was identified in these cases. The names of individuals currently in these professional positions at each sampled organization were obtained from the directories/yearbooks used to select the organizations, from the mastheads of the sampled publications, or from telephone calls made to the sampled organization.

PROFESSIONAL TITLES SAMPLED AT EACH SAMPLED ORGANIZATION

NATIONAL SAMPLE - "TOP" LEVEL

Television/Radio Stations
  News division executives, executive producers

Newspapers/Wire Services/Magazines
  Managing Editor
  Executive Editor
  Senior Editor

NATIONAL SAMPLE - "MIDDLE" LEVEL

Television/Radio Stations
  Washington D.C. Bureau Chief, Senior Producers, Correspondents, Anchors

Newspapers/Wires and News Services/Magazines
  Political Editor
  Political Correspondent
  Political Reporter
  D.C. Bureau Chief

LOCAL SAMPLE - "TOP" LEVEL

Television/Radio Stations
  News Directors

Newspapers/Wire Services/Magazines
  Managing Editor
  Executive Editor
  Senior Editor
  National Editor

LOCAL SAMPLE - "MIDDLE" LEVEL

Television/Radio Stations
  Political Producers
  Political Correspondents

Newspapers/Wires and News Services/Magazines
  Political Editor
  Political Reporter

The final selected sample was divided into eight subsamples. Each subsample was split into replicates and quotas were set for number of completed interviews from each subsample. These quotas were set because the sampling frame for *"Top"* level respondents and respondents representing the national media organizations was somewhat smaller than for the other groups represented in the sample. In order to ensure adequate representation of these smaller groups in the final sample of complete interviews it was necessary to set quotas. The subsamples and quotas for each are listed below:

SUBSAMPLE	*QUOTA*
National TV Top Level	20
National TV Middle Level	30
National Newspapers/Wire and News Services/Magazines/ Radio Top Level	20
National Newspapers/Wire and News Services/Magazines/ Radio Middle Level	30
TOTAL NATIONAL SAMPLE	100
Local TV Top Level	25
Local TV Middle Level	25
Local Newspapers Top Level	25
Local Newspapers Middle Level	25
TOTAL LOCAL SAMPLE	100

Each person sampled for this survey was mailed an advance letter on the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press letterhead and signed by Don Kellermann, Director of the Center. These letters were intended to introduce the survey to prospective respondents, describe the nature and purpose of the survey and encourage participation in the survey. Approximately one week after the letter was mailed interviewers began calling the individual sample members and conducting the survey or setting up appointments to conduct the survey at a later date.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
PRESS OPINION SURVEY
FORM A & B COMBINED
APRIL 20 - MAY 8, 1992
N=413 - TOTAL RESPONDENTS
N=213 - NATIONAL
N=200 - LOCAL
N=34 - THE POWERS THAT BE

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am ____________ calling on behalf of the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press in Washington, DC. May I speak with (Name of Respondent). Is now a convenient time to conduct the interview that Don Kellermann wrote to you about? **(IF NO - ASK TO SET UP AN APPOINTMENT?)**

Q.1 All in all, what campaign event has had the greatest impact on the presidential election campaign, so far?

	Total Respondents	National	Local	The Powers That Be
NET: Clinton character mentions	46	47	45	38
Coverage of Clinton character issues	23	21	25	18
Gennifer Flowers press conference	20	22	18	21
Perot's candidacy	17	15	20	29
Clinton's strength/Viability	8	11	4	3
New York primary	7	8	6	3
Tsongas dropping out of the race	6	6	7	0
Los Angeles/Rodney King	6	10	2	12
Problems with the economy	6	6	6	6
No single event has significant impact	4	3	5	6
Super Tuesday	4	5	3	6
New Hampshire primary	4	4	4	6
Decline of Bush's strength/Popularity	3	2	4	6
Other	14	12	16	6
Don't know/No answer	3	3	3	0

Q2.1 In this campaign, what, if anything is the press doing particularly well?

	Total Respondents	National	Local	The Powers That Be
More thorough coverage of important issues	22	20	24	21
Dissatisfied with coverage/ Nothing	22	19	25	15
Not just image and sound bites	14	16	12	18
Exposing of campaign advertising	9	12	5	12
Covering voter reactions/ Attitudes	6	11	2	6
Covering all aspects of candidates	6	4	8	9
Covering all candidates even underdogs	5	3	7	0
Covering candidates past records on issues	5	7	2	9
Day to day coverage/ Keep voters up	5	6	4	6
Covering primaries/ Who's ahead	3	3	2	0
Other	14	12	15	12
Don't know/No answer	4	5	2	15

Q2.2 What are your biggest complaints about press coverage of the 1992 campaign?

	Total Respondents	National	Local	The Powers That Be
NET: Wrong focus	57	53	61	47
Too much focus on irrelevant issues	36	35	36	32
Trivializing issues/Focus on real issues	21	17	26	18
Not targeted enough on candidates positions	10	10	10	6
Too much emphasis on horserace coverage	8	8	8	6
No complaints	7	9	5	15
Mainstream coverage driven by tabloids	7	8	6	12
Superficial coverage	6	6	8	6
NET: Press manipulated	6	4	8	3
Coverage is copycat/Pack Journalism	5	5	5	3
Event/Reactive focus vs issue focus	5	5	6	3
Predictions instead of coverage	4	4	4	3
Press manipulated by candidates	3	1	6	3
Not enough challenge of Bush/Bush record	3	4	2	6
Other	10	11	10	6
Don't know/No answer	2	3	1	6

Q.3 All in all, do you think press coverage of the presidential campaign has been better or worse than it was in 1988?

	Total Respondents	National	Local	The Powers That Be
Better	49	46	51	50
Worse	18	19	18	23
Same (VOL)	29	30	27	21
Can't say	4	5	4	6
	100	100	100	100

BASED ON FORM A RESPONDENTS:
Q.4A How much influence do you think news organizations have on which candidate becomes the Democratic presidential nominee? **(READ CATEGORIES 1-3)**

	Total Respondents	National	Local
Too much	31	31	31
Too little	5	3	8
About the right amount	56	58	54
Don't know **(DON'T READ)**	8	8	7
	100	100	100
	(206)	(108)	(98)

BASED ON FORM B RESPONDENTS:
Q.4B How much influence do you think news organizations have on which candidate becomes the Democratic presidential nominee? **(READ CATEGORIES 1-4)**

	Total Respondents	National	Local
A Great deal	30	23	36
A Fair Amount	37	38	36
Only some	26	30	22
Little or none	6	7	5
Don't know **(DON'T READ)**	1	2	1
	100	100	100
	(207)	(105)	(102)

Q.5 Compared to 1988, has your news organization put more resources, fewer resources, or the same amount of resources into covering the presidential campaign?

	Total Respondents	National	Local	The Powers That Be
More	21	24	19	15
Less - **GO TO Q.6**	42	46	38	38
Same	30	25	35	44
Don't know	7	5	8	3
	100	100	100	100

Q.6 On balance has this resulted in poorer quality coverage of the campaign or not?

	Total Respondents	National	Local	The Powers That Be
Yes, poorer	14	15	12	9
No	26	30	22	29
Can't say	3	2	4	0
Not less coverage	57	53	62	62
	100	100	100	100

Q.7 So far, do you think your news organization is giving too much coverage to the 1992 presidential campaign, too little coverage to the campaign, or the right amount of coverage?

	Total Respondents	National	Local	The Powers That Be
Too much	4	5	3	9
Too little	23	23	22	18
Right amount	72	71	74	70
Don't know	1	1	1	3
	100	100	100	100

BASED ON FORM A RESPONDENTS:

Q.8A As I read from a list tell me if you think the item I mention has been a major problem, a minor problem or not a problem with this year's campaign coverage so far?

	Major Problem	Minor Problem	Not a Problem	DK
a. Building up expectations about how well a candidate should perform in a primary				
Total Respondents	27	39	33	1=100
National	27	40	32	1=100
Local	27	39	34	0=100
b. Being too quick to judge a candidate's electability				
Total Respondents	53	32	15	0=100
National	55	29	16	0=100
Local	50	36	14	0=100
c. Giving too little coverage to trailing candidates				
Total Respondents	18	43	38	1=100
National	18	39	42	1=100
Local	18	47	35	0=100
d. Inadequately covering candidate positions on issues				
Total Respondents	50	33	17	0=100
National	47	33	20	0=100
Local	52	35	13	0=100
e. Not covering campaign commercials adequately				
Total Respondents	6	27	65	2=100
National	4	25	68	3=100
Local	9	29	60	2=100

BASED ON FORM B RESPONDENTS:

Q.8B As I read from a list tell me if you think the item I mention has been a major problem, a minor problem or not a problem with this year's campaign coverage so far?

	Major Problem	Minor Problem	Not a Problem	DK
a. Putting too much emphasis on a candidate's electability				
Total Respondents	27	40	32	1=100
National	22	43	34	1=100
Local	32	37	31	0=100
b. Being too critical of front running candidates				
Total Respondents	18	33	47	2=100
National	18	33	48	1=100
Local	18	33	47	2=100
c. Relying too much on opinion polls				
Total Respondents	33	37	30	0=100
National	35	34	31	0=100
Local	30	40	30	0=100
d. Devoting too much coverage to the inside baseball aspects of the campaign				
Total Respondents	20	44	33	3=100
National	18	47	33	2=100
Local	22	41	32	5=100

BASED ON FORM A RESPONDENTS:

Q.8A1 In general, to what extent has press coverage of campaign commercials helped to make them more honest and truthful? Would you say it has helped to make them... **(READ CATEGORIES 1-3)**

	Total Respondents	National	Local
Much more truthful and honest	4	6	3
Somewhat more truthful and honest	53	51	54
OR			
Hasn't it made them more truthful and honest	39	38	40
(DO NOT READ) Can't say	4	5	3
	100	100	100

Q.10 As I read the name of a Presidential candidate please tell me if you think the way the press covered this candidate helped, hurt or had a neutral effect on his candidacy?

First (   ) was/has his candidacy been helped or hurt by the way the press covered him or was (has) the press coverage had a neutral effect on his candidacy?

	Helped	Hurt	Neutral	(VOL) Both Helped & Hurt	DK
a. George Bush					
Total Respondents	22	24	50	2	2=100
National	21	25	49	3	2=100
Local	23	23	51	2	1=100
Powers That Be	26	21	47	0	6=100
b. Pat Buchanan					
Total Respondents	62	18	17	2	1=100
National	66	12	19	3	*=100
Local	59	25	16	0	*=100
Powers That Be	56	26	15	0	3=100
c. Paul Tsongas					
Total Respondents	57	19	19	5	*=100
National	65	12	17	6	*=100
Local	48	26	22	4	*=100
Powers That Be	82	3	9	3	3=100
d. Bill Clinton					
Total Respondents	13	64	12	10	1=100
National	11	64	11	13	1=100
Local	15	65	14	6	*=100
Powers That Be	17	65	9	6	3=100
e. Bob Kerrey					
Total Respondents	8	26	63	1	2=100
National	8	23	65	2	2=100
Local	8	28	60	1	3=100
Powers That Be	3	18	73	3	3=100
f. Jerry Brown					
Total Respondents	47	27	17	9	*=100
National	43	28	17	11	1=100
Local	51	26	16	6	1=100
Powers That Be	41	18	29	9	3=100
g. Tom Harkin					
Total Respondents	8	22	65	1	4=100
National	9	21	64	1	5=100
Local	8	22	66	1	3=100
Powers That Be	9	29	53	3	6=100
h. David Duke					
Total Respondents	13	63	21	2	1=100
National	13	62	21	3	1=100
Local	13	64	22	*	1=100
Powers That Be	6	79	9	3	3=100

BASED ON FORM B RESPONDENTS:
I'd like to get your reaction to some specific stories...

Q.11B Do you happen to recall a February newspaper story about President Bush's appearance at a National Grocer's Association meeting, where it was reported that he seemed unfamiliar with automated check out equipment?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN Q.11B ASK:

Q.11B1 From a journalistic point of view do you have a positive or negative reaction to that story or don't you have reactions one way or the other?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' NEGATIVE IN Q.11B1 ASK:

Q.11B2 Why do you feel this way?

	Total Respondents	National	Local
Don't recall	16	10	22
No reaction	14	16	13
Positive reaction	35	40	29
Negative reaction	35	34	36
REASONS:			
Story was inaccurate/Facts were wrong	16	17	16
Blown out of proportion	7	5	9
Press reported their impressions	6	8	4
Shows Bush not in touch with the people	4	3	5
No context/Explanation/ Perspective shown	4	3	5
Unfair portrayal of Bush	3	5	1
Issue was not important	2	1	4
Other	0	0	0
Don't know/No answer	0	0	0

BASED ON FORM B RESPONDENTS:
Q.12B Do you happen to recall a newsmagazine cover story in January that headlined Bill Clinton as the Democratic frontrunner?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN Q.12B ASK:
Q.12B1 Think back to your reaction to when you first read that story - from a journalistic point of view did you have a positive or negative reaction to that story or didn't it strike you one way or the other?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' NEGATIVE IN Q.12B1 ASK:
Q.12B2 Why do you feel this way?

	Total Respondents	National	Local
Don't recall	39	37	40
No reaction	23	18	28
Positive reaction	13	17	10
Negative reaction	25	28	22
REASONS:			
Too early	12	12	12
Too speculative/No substantiated	10	12	7
Biased/Suggested media endorsement	7	7	8
Inaccurate/Other candidates viable	5	4	7
Other	1	2	1
Don't know/No answer	1	0	1

BASED ON FORM A RESPONDENTS:
Q.13A Do you happen to recall a Sunday newspaper story back in March about business dealings between Bill and Hillary Clinton and a man involved in a savings and loan scandal?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN Q.13A ASK:
Q.13A1 Think back to your reaction to when you first read that story - from a journalistic point of view did you have a positive or negative reaction to that story or didn't it strike you one way or the other?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' NEGATIVE IN Q.13A1 ASK:
Q.13A2 Why do you feel this way?

	Total Respondents	National	Local
Don't recall	13	5	22
No reaction	30	25	36
Positive reaction	16	17	13
Negative reaction	41	53	29
REASONS:			
Allegations tenuous/ Possibly untrue	13	19	6
Issue exaggerated/Not big deal	13	16	9
Not well investigated or covered	8	11	5
Irrelevant/Trying to ammo vs Clinton	7	10	4
Showed Clinton dishonest/ Unethical	5	4	7
Point of story was unclear	5	8	1
Other	1	1	0
Don't know/No answer	1	1	1

Q.14 How responsibly have news organizations handled the controversy surrounding Bill Clinton's personal character? **(READ CATEGORIES 1-4)**

	Total Respondents	National	Local	The Powers That Be
Very responsibly	7	7	8	6
Fairly responsibly	55	55	54	44
Not too responsibly	30	30	30	35
Not at all responsibly	6	5	7	6
(DO NOT READ) Don't know	2	3	1	9
	100	100	100	100

Q.15 In your opinion, which is a better explanation for the problems Bill Clinton has had in his campaign so far: the way the press has covered him or Bill Clinton's personal actions and views, themselves?

	Total Respondents	National	Local	The Powers That Be
Press coverage	12	12	12	12
Clinton himself	67	63	71	50
Both/Neither **(VOL)**	19	24	14	38
Don't know	2	1	3	0
	100	100	100	100

Q.16 Generally, do you think the character questions raised about Bill Clinton are relevant considerations for voters, or do you think they have little to do with Clinton's ability to handle the job of President?

	Total Respondents	National	Local	The Powers That Be
Relevant	70	75	65	73
Little to do	25	20	30	21
Can't say	5	5	5	6
	100	100	100	100

Q.17 Some people think the press has pushed the Gennifer Flowers story as hard as it should, while others think it has not. Which comes closer to your opinion?

	Total Respondents	National	Local	The Powers That Be
Pushed as hard	87	89	85	85
Has not	7	6	8	6
Can't say	6	5	7	9
	100	100	100	100

Q.19 Do you think allegations about his personal life will trail Bill Clinton throughout the campaign or do you think this has pretty much run its course?

	Total Respondents	National	Local	The Powers That Be
Yes, will trail	80	77	82	76
No	17	17	16	15
Don't know	3	6	2	9
	100	100	100	100

Q.20 If Bill Clinton becomes the nominee and these stories persist, do you think the press will feel obligated to follow up on rumors about President Bush's personal life?

	Total Respondents	National	Local	The Powers That Be
Yes	73	70	76	65
No	21	21	21	20
Don't know	6	9	3	15
	100	100	100	100

Q.21 Do you think Bill Clinton has been basically candid or not in the way he has handled allegations about his personal life?

	Total Respondents	National	Local	The Powers That Be
Candid	34	32	34	44
Not candid	59	59	60	44
Can't say	7	9	6	12
	100	100	100	100

BASED ON FORM A RESPONDENTS:

Q.22A In your opinion did the New Hampshire exit poll that erroneously showed a close margin between Bush and Buchanan continue to inflate the press' view of Buchanan's candidacy, even after the error was revealed?

	Total Respondents	National	Local
Yes	50	52	48
No	43	44	42
Don't know	7	4	10
	100	100	100

BASED ON FORM B RESPONDENTS:

Q.22B Some feel that there were once barriers between the tabloid press and the mainstream press that have broken down. Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

	Total Respondents	National	Local
Agree	54	54	53
Disagree	40	39	42
Don't know	6	7	5
	100	100	100

BASED ON FORM B RESPONDENTS:
Q.23B Has Pat Buchanan's candidacy made this a more interesting campaign for you?

	Total Respondents	National	Local
Yes	75	85	66
No	25	15	34
Don't know	0	0	0
	100	100	100

BASED ON FORM A RESPONDENTS:
Q.24A Do you think that Pat Buchanan's candidacy has benefitted from the fact that he has been a member of the media?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN Q.24A ASK:
Q.25A In what way?

	Total Respondents	National	Local
Yes	46	53	38
REASONS:			
Knows how to manipulate press	17	18	15
Has influential friends/ Treated better	15	18	12
Recognized/Known/ Celebrity	14	14	14
Knows how to present sound bites	8	7	8
Articulate/Good talker	4	6	2
It's enjoyable/Fun to cover him	1	2	0
Other	1	2	0
No	51	45	58
Don't know/No answer	3	2	4

Q.26 How do you rate the chances of a Democrat winning the White House in November? Do you think there is an excellent chance, good chance, only fair chance or poor chance that the Democrats will win in November?

		Total Respondents	National	Local	The Powers That Be
Excellent		1	*	1	0
Good		12	16	9	18
Only fair	GO TO Q.27A	52	51	54	47
Poor		32	29	35	32
Can't say		3	4	1	3
		100	100	100	100

BASED ON FORM A RESPONDENTS:
IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' ONLY FAIR OR '4' POOR IN Q.26 ASK:
Q.27A In your opinion could one of the Democrats who chose not to run defeat George Bush, if that Democrat became the nominee as a consequence of a brokered convention?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN Q.27A ASK:
Q.28A Which Democrat did you have in mind?

	Total Respondents	National	Local
Yes - **GO TO Q.28A**	34	33	34
Cuomo	15	13	18
Tsongas	5	3	8
Bentsen	3	5	1
Bradley	2	3	1
Gephardt	2	1	2
Rockefeller	2	3	0
Gore	1	1	1
Nunn	1	1	1
Other	0	0	0
Can't name specific Democrat	3	3	2
No	46	41	51
Not sure	5	6	5
Not fair/Poor	15	20	10

BASED ON FORM B RESPONDENTS:

Q.27B I am going to read you a list of some things that are new, or relatively recent developments in campaign coverage. For each tell me if you think this is having a negative or positive effect on campaign coverage?

	Positive	Not Negative or Positive	Negative	Not Much Effect	DK
a. Press coverage of commercials					
Total Respondents	85	2	11	1	1=100
National	87	3	7	2	1=100
Local	81	1	15	1	2=100
b. One exit poll for all 4 networks					
Total Respondents	57	4	29	6	4=100
National	51	5	30	10	4=100
Local	63	3	28	1	5=100
c. Reduced television coverage of the conventions					
Total Respondents	38	4	44	4	10=100
National	36	2	38	6	18=100
Local	39	7	50	2	2=100
d. C-Span					
Total Respondents	91	1	1	6	1=100
National	90	1	0	8	1=100
Local	91	2	1	4	2=100
e. Frequent debates between nomination contenders					
Total Respondents	87	3	7	2	1=100
National	89	5	5	1	0=100
Local	85	1	10	3	1=100
f. Increased local TV coverage of presidential election campaigns					
Total Respondents	77	4	10	4	5=100
National	73	5	9	4	9=100
Local	81	2	10	5	2=100
g. CNN					
Total Respondents	91	2	3	3	1=100
National	88	3	4	4	1=100
Local	94	1	2	2	1=100

BASED ON FORM A RESPONDENTS:

Q.29A In your opinion how much of a chance is there that a brokered Democratic Convention will nominate someone other than Bill Clinton? Do you think there is an excellent chance, good chance, only some chance or no chance of that?

	Total Respondents	National	Local
Excellent	1	0	1
Good	2	2	3
Only some	39	39	40
No	56	56	55
Can't say	2	3	1
	100	100	100

Q.30 As I read from a list please tell me how much attention you give to the following for news and information about the campaign... A great deal of attention, some attention, hardly any attention or no attention?

HOW MUCH ATTENTION DO YOU PAY TO:	Great Deal	Some	Hardly Any	None	DK
a. National newspapers such as: the NYT, WP, LAT					
Total Respondents	63	30	5	2	0=100
National	82	18	*	0	0=100
Local	42	44	10	4	0=100
Powers That Be	88	12	0	0	0=100
b. The evening network news broadcasts					
Total Respondents	35	38	21	6	0=100
National	38	39	19	4	0=100
Local	32	37	23	8	0=100
Powers That Be	44	35	15	6	0=100
c. CNN					
Total Respondents	30	53	13	4	0=100
National	33	47	18	2	0=100
Local	28	59	7	6	0=100
Powers That Be	21	50	29	0	0=100
d. The newsmagazines					
Total Respondents	26	48	21	5	0=100
National	30	46	21	3	0=100
Local	23	50	20	7	0=100
Powers That Be	29	47	21	3	0=100
e. NPR					
Total Respondents	18	36	24	22	*=100
National	22	35	23	19	1=100
Local	14	36	26	24	0=100
Powers That Be	32	29	12	24	3=100
f. The morning network talk shows					
Total Respondents	7	33	31	29	*=100
National	7	34	33	26	*=100
Local	8	32	28	32	0=100
Powers That Be	6	35	44	15	0=100
g. The Sunday morning talk shows					
Total Respondents	21	41	20	18	0=100
National	25	42	19	14	0=100
Local	16	40	20	24	0=100
Powers That Be	38	44	12	6	0=100
h. AP (Associated Press)					
Total Respondents	47	36	8	6	3=100
NationaL	37	36	12	9	6=100
Local	57	36	4	3	0=100
Powers That Be	12	30	31	9	18=100

Q.31 All in all what is your one principal outside source of information about the campaign? **(DO NOT READ)**

	Total Respondents	National	Local	The Powers That Be
National newspapers such as: the NYT,WP, LAT	40	56	23	56
The evening network news broadcasts	7	4	11	6
CNN	4	4	4	0
The newsmagazines	3	1	6	0
NPR	2	4	0	9
The morning network talk shows	1	0	1	0
The Sunday morning talk shows	0	0	0	0
Associated Press	14	8	20	6
Wire services (general)	8	3	14	3
Correspondents and other people	7	8	5	9
Hotline	3	6	0	11
Local papers	2	0	4	0
Wall Street Journal	1	1	1	0
C-Span	1	*	2	0
Other (SPECIFY)	3	1	4	0
Can't say	4	4	5	0
	100	100	100	100

BASED ON FORM A RESPONDENTS:

Q.32A As I read from a list tell me if you have a very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of each person that I name?

	Very Favor-able	Mostly Favor-able	Mostly Unfavor-able	Very Unfavor-able	Never Heard of	Can't Rate
a. Bill Clinton						
Total Resp.	1	54	33	3	0	9=100
National	1	54	29	4	0	12=100
Local	1	55	36	2	0	6=100
b. George Bush						
Total Resp.	1	45	40	6	0	8=100
National	0	38	43	8	0	11=100
Local	1	52	38	4	0	5=100
c. Jerry Brown						
Total Resp.	2	22	47	20	0	9=100
National	1	21	44	23	0	11=100
Local	2	24	51	17	0	6=100
d. Jim Baker						
Total Resp.	8	53	23	5	0	11=100
National	5	58	20	5	0	12=100
Local	11	47	26	5	0	11=100
e. Dan Quayle						
Total Resp.	0	17	46	27	0	10=100
National	0	18	44	26	0	12=100
Local	0	16	48	28	0	8=100
f. Jack Kemp						
Total Resp.	7	63	17	2	0	11=100
National	6	62	17	4	0	11=100
Local	7	63	19	1	0	10=100
g. Dick Gephardt						
Total Resp.	2	59	25	2	0	12=100
National	2	56	28	2	0	12=100
Local	2	62	23	1	0	12=100

CONTINUED....

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard of	Can't Rate
h.	Mario Cuomo						
	Total Resp.	4	56	24	6	0	10=100
	National	4	58	19	7	0	12=100
	Local	5	54	29	5	0	7=100
i.	Lloyd Bentsen						
	Total Resp.	7	62	18	1	0	12=100
	National	6	65	14	2	0	13=100
	Local	7	58	22	1	0	12=100
j.	Al Gore						
	Total Resp.	5	64	17	1	0	13=100
	National	5	63	17	1	0	14=100
	Local	5	64	16	1	0	14=100

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Times Mirror
Center for
The People &
The Press

NEWS Release

1875 Eye Street, N.W. Suite 1110
Washington, D.C. 20006
202 293-3126

FOR RELEASE: TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992, A.M.

The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92

Year of the "Outsiders"

Survey VII

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PEROT TOPS BUSH AND CLINTON, BUT SCHWARTZKOPF RUNS ALMOST AS STRONG

Unannounced candidate Ross Perot has pulled ahead of George Bush and Bill Clinton in the latest nationwide ***Times Mirror*** survey, but for all the talk of Perot's connection with voters, his strength against Bush and Clinton is almost matched by non candidate Norman Schwartzkopf.

Currently Perot polls support of 36% from Times Mirror's sampling, Bush gets 31% and Bill Clinton runs third with 27%. In a separate ballot test, Schwartzkopf draws as much support as Clinton and almost as much as Bush. The former Desert Storm commander polled 29% to Clinton's 27% and 35% for George Bush.

The Schwartzkopf finding underscores the difficulty of judging how much of Perot's standing in the polls is really support for Perot rather than a yearning for a non-political alternative to Bush and Clinton. By all measures, public support for a fresh face in Washington is far greater than it was four years ago, and at the same time Americans seem willing to take some risks, even with Democratic institutions, in order to bring about change.

In comparison to 1976, another election year in which voters were predisposed to the appeals of political outsiders, the public today is much more likely to see a need for a strong leader who would try to solve the country's problem, ***directly without worrying about how Congress and the Supreme Court would feel***.

Sixty-three percent of Americans think the country needs that sort of strong leadership, while only 27% believes it would be dangerous. In the aftermath of Watergate in 1976, 49% favored a so described strong leader, compared to 44% who thought it might be dangerous.

In a more recent trend the percentage of Americans who say the country needs new people in Washington, ***even if they are not as effective as experienced politicians*** has risen from 44% in 1987 to 56% currently. At the same time, the percentage saying it's time for politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders climbed from 62% to 84% over that same period.

Support for a strong leader who would ***"solve problems directly"*** and for ***"new but inexperienced leadership"*** in Washington is evident at all levels of society and among all political and demographic groups. However, enthusiasm for such ideas is greater among Perot supporters and among political Independents than it is among Clinton and Bush supporters or among those who identify with the major parties.

	Country Needs Strong Leader		Need New Leader Even If Inexperienced	
	1976*	Curr	1987	Curr
Total	49	63	44	56
Sex				
Male	53	66	44	57
Female	45	61	43	56
Race				
White	N/A	62	43	56
Black	N/A	70	50	56
Other	N/A	63	44	54
Age				
18-29	47	64	37	46
30-49	51	64	40	55
50+	49	62	52	64
Education				
College graduate	42	61	40	58
College incomplete	N/A	65	40	55
High School graduate	52	63	45	55
Less than high school graduate	51	63	47	59
Income				
$50,000 & over	N/A	66	40	55
$30,000-$49,999	N/A	65	38	58
$20,000-$29,999	N/A	63	44	58
Less than $20,000	N/A	61	47	57
Region				
East	52	60	N/A	56
Midwest	47	62	N/A	57
South	54	66	N/A	53
West	40	66	N/A	60

CONTINUED...

	Country Needs Strong Leader		Need New Leader Even If Inexperienced	
	1976*	Curr	1987	Curr
Party Affiliation				
Republican	50	61	36	52
Democrat	50	64	52	57
Independent	48	65	41	60
Supporters				
Bush	N/A	59	N/A	44
Clinton	N/A	61	N/A	54
Perot	N/A	71	N/A	67

*Spring 1976 nationwide *Newsweek* survey by Gallup.

Leaving the possibility of Perot aside, in a two-way match up Bush continues to lead Clinton by a slim 46% to 41% margin - not statistically different than the 46% to 43% margin recorded in the May ***Times Mirror*** survey. The three-way test election shows a clear trend over the past month. Perot picked up 6 points, moving from 30% to 36%, while Clinton slipped 3% points (30% to 27%) and Bush 2% points (33% to 31%). When the current trial heat is based only on the responses of registered voters the survey finds 36% for Perot, 31% for Bush and 28% for Clinton.

Over the past month Perot has made major gains in support among middle income people ($30,000 -$49,000), voters under 30 years of age and most of all among political independents. At 51% Perot's support among Independents rivals Clinton's among Democrats (57%) but is below Bush's among Republican's (64%).

DEMOGRAPHIC TREND IN PRESIDENTIAL SUPPORT

	Bush		Clinton		Perot		
	5/92	Curr	5/92	Curr	5/92	Curr	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	33	31	30	27	30	36	(3517)
Sex							
Male	33	31	30	26	33	39	(1252)
Female	33	31	30	29	27	33	(1260)
Race							
White	36	34	26	23	32	37	(2007)
Black	10	9	61	57	21	24	(380)
Age							
18 - 29	39	34	32	28	25	34	(752)
30 - 49	34	30	28	27	32	37	(1040)
50 +	28	31	32	28	31	35	(710)
Education							
College grad.	35	33	24	26	34	38	(672)
Some college	33	32	30	22	34	41	(721)
High school graduate	36	31	30	25	28	37	(860)
Less than H.S. grad.	25	28	38	41	23	24	(256)
Income							
$50,000 & over	35	35	24	22	36	40	(487)
$30,000-$49,999	43	32	22	22	31	42	(633)
$20,000-$29,999	30	30	34	30	31	36	(447)
Less than $20,000	29	27	38	35	24	29	(728)
Region							
Northeast	30	30	30	28	32	34	(617)
Midwest	32	32	33	27	29	37	(681)
South	39	32	30	31	24	31	(836)
West	29	28	27	24	38	43	(378)
Party Affiliation							
Republican	66	64	7	6	23	28	(707)
Democrat	10	9	56	57	28	28	(795)
Independent	31	24	23	18	37	51	(908)

TYPOLOGY

The Times Mirror Typology reveals that while Perot supporters are most numerous among Independent groups, substantial percentages of core Republicans and core Democrats say they would vote for him if the election were being held today. He achieves his highest levels of support (48%) from Republican leaning ***Disaffecteds*** who grudgingly voted Republican in 1988 and from Democratic leaning ***Seculars*** (46%) who mostly supported Dukakis in 1988. Both groups have been among the most enthusiastic early supporters of Ross Perot. However, the current survey finds Perot's candidacy now also gaining support among more typically loyal Republican and Democratic groups.

Most notably the survey finds Perot now running almost as strong as Bush among ***Upbeats***, who are young moderate independents who strongly supported Bush and Reagan before him. On the Democratic side the survey shows Perot getting the support of one in three liberal ***60's Democrats***, while among Republicans one in three economically conservative ***Enterprisers*** say they would like to see Perot elected.

In fact, Perot's support is only below the one in three level among ***Pocketbook Democrats*** and among socially conservative ***Moralist Republicans***.

CANDIDATE PREFERENCE** BY TYPOLOGY GROUP

	TWO WAY CHOICE		*THREE WAY CHOICE*			*PEROT'S IMPACT ON*	
	BUSH	*CLINTON*	*BUSH*	*CLINTON*	*PEROT*	*BUSH*	*CLINTON*
TOTAL	45	41	31	27	36	-14	-14
ENTERPRISERS	88	5	65	3	31	-23	-2
MORALISTS	80	12	64	8	26	-16	-4
UPBEATS	59	29	41	14	38	-18	-15
DISAFFECTEDS	37	37	22	21	48	-15	-16
SECULARS	27	63	13	38	46	-14	-25
60'S DEMOCRATS	17	72	12	48	35	-5	-24
NEW DEALERS	22	62	10	44	44	-12	-18
POCKET BOOK DEMOCRATS	11	78	7	61	25	-4	-17
BYSTANDERS/ OTHER	46	35	30	23	39	-16	-12

**Includes Leaners.

No Growth in Perot Negatives

Despite increasing press scrutiny over the past month, Perot's unfavorable rating has held steady at 26%, while his favorable rating has increased slightly from 50% to 53%. In contrast the percentages of Americans holding unfavorable opinions of Clinton and Bush has increased for the third consecutive month. Both major party candidates are now rated unfavorably by almost as many people as rate them favorably (Bush 47% unfavorable, 51% favorable - Clinton 47% unfavorable, 46 favorable).

For perspective, Dan Quayle's unfavorable rating (61%) is substantially higher than his favorable rating (33%). But even relatively popular politicians who have received significantly good press get mixed reviews from the public. Jack Kemp achieves a 35% favorable, 26% unfavorable rating and Bill Bradley ratings are 35% favorable, 23% unfavorable.

Desert Storm commanders Powell and Schwartzkopf are given ratings of a completely different magnitude. Schwartzkopf achieves a 74% favorable to 13% unfavorable evaluation, while Powell's is only slightly less positive (65% to 15%).

Methodological Problems In Polling On Perot

The Times Mirror survey included an experiment to illustrate the fragility of candidate standing measures in this political environment and the difficulties of polling in three candidate races. In the main survey respondents were asked about their support for Bush, Clinton or for Perot after being ***first*** asked about their preference in the traditional two-way contest between Bush and Clinton. In a ***separate*** and comparable nationwide survey respondents were asked to choose between the three candidates without first being questioned about the two-way race. The two measurement approaches yield somewhat different results. In the *"cold"* three way test a larger percentage of respondent express no preference and the levels of support for Bush and Perot are about even. We have observed similar differences in results in other similar comparisons over the past few months.

	---------------Preferences:---------------	
	After the 2 way	Without 2 way
Perot	36	31
Bush	31	33
Clinton	27	24
Other/Undec.	6	12
	100	100
N=	(2512)	(1004)

The above experiment illustrates two principles of polling. First, when opinions are soft and volatile, small differences in survey method can and often do affect survey results. Secondly, this experiment in conjunction with the Schwartzkopf finding points up the difficulty in factoring true levels of support for the candidates at this point in time.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among a nationally representative sample of 3,517 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period of May 28 - June 10, 1992. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points. A split ballot technique was used to test Norman Schwartzkopf's appeal versus Ross Perot's. A random subset of 2512 respondents were questioned about Perot as a third party candidate while a random subset of 1005 were asked about Schwartzkopf.

A second independent nationwide telephone survey was conducted among 1004 adults 18 years of age and older during the period June 5-9, 1992 as a means of testing an alternative voting intentions method. See Preference table on page 3.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE TIMES MIRROR TYPOLOGY

In 1987 Times Mirror developed a unique voter classification scheme that divided the electorate on the basis of political values, party identification and measures of political participation. Since its inception Times Mirror has conducted numerous nationwide surveys using this political typology, the most recent of which was reported in ***THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS & POLITICS - 1990***. The typology was developed for administration by personal interview in that it requires about 15 minutes of interviewing time to ask the full battery of questions.

Over the past year the ***Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press*** has developed a modified form of the Times Mirror Typology that is suitable for telephone interviewing in that it requires many fewer questions. It also divides the public into fewer groups (9 vs. 11) and therefore can be used with more limited sample size surveys. It is our intention to utilize the modified typology scheme on each of our pre-election surveys in 1992. While this form of the typology does not offer the full analytical richness of the original scheme, we think it continues to be an important and highly useful way of looking at the electorate.

The modified typology is based on the important concepts about the homogeneity of various voting groups that we uncovered in our earlier research.

There are two core Republican groups:

Enterprisers: Enterprisers are fiscal conservatives who hold positive attitudes toward business and are anti-welfarist. They are affluent, well-educated and well-informed. Enterprisers are much less likely than other Americans to agree with the popular notion that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer (43% vs. 81%). Their pro-business stance leads them to differ with most Americans on the idea that too much power is concentrated in the hands of big companies. While 82% of other Americans feel that this is true, only 48% of Enterprisers agree. Enterprisers are also less likely to completely agree that society should make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity (55% vs. 41%).

Moralists: Moralists are highly religious, socially conservative and show low levels of concern for personal freedoms. They are less affluent, older, and many live in the South. A vast majority of Moralists agree that books with dangerous ideas should be banned from public schools, which sets them firmly to the right of the rest of the public on the issue of censorship (89% vs. 39%).

There are three core Democratic groups:

Sixties Democrats: Sixties Democrats are strong believers in peace and social justice. More than any other segment of the population, they disagree with the idea that the best way to preserve peace is through military strength (88% vs. 44%). And two-thirds (65%) of Sixties Democrats completely agree that society should guarantee everyone an equal opportunity. This is a heavily female, middle class, middle-aged group that supports most of the policy positions of the national Democratic party.

New Dealers: New Dealers are older Democrats who experience little financial pressure and are more socially conservative than the national Democratic Party. Drawn heavily from the South, many of these old-time Democrats have party roots that go back to Roosevelt. Despite the end of the Cold War, New Dealers still universally agree that the best way to insure peace is through military strength (96%[1]).

Pocketbook Democrats: Pocketbook Dems overwhelmingly agree that they don't have enough money to make ends meet (98%). They are very concerned with social justice, and they believe that government should take an active role in the solution of the socio-economic problems that plague them. One-third of Pocketbook Dems are minorities (32%), and many have less than a high school education.

There are three typology groups that are basically Independent:

Seculars: Seculars lean to the Democratic party, but some identify more closely with the GOP on certain issues. They are strongly supportive of personal freedoms. Seculars are well-informed, relatively affluent, and more often found on the East and West coasts. Their defining characteristic is an almost total lack of religious conviction. While 87% of the rest of the public says that prayer is an important part of their daily life, only one in ten (12%) Seculars hold this view. Their support for personal freedoms is best reflected in their feelings about censorship: 97% disagree with banning books containing dangerous ideas from public school libraries, compared with 48% of other Americans.

---

[1] Based on combined survey results from November 1991 and January 1992.

Two of the Independent groups lean to the Republican party:

Disaffecteds: Disaffecteds are personally alienated, financially pressured and deeply skeptical of politicians. This middle-aged, lower-middle income group contains many blue collar workers. Disaffecteds are nearly twice as likely as others to agree that hard work offers little guarantee of success (69% vs. 36%). Their political distrust is such that three-quarters (77%) disagree that elected officials care what people like them think.

Upbeats: Upbeats are also independents who lean to the GOP, but their attitudinal profile is almost the opposite of Disaffecteds. Upbeats are primarily young people who tend to be uncritical of government and other institutions. They also have American Exceptionalist values: 88% of Upbeats agree that Americans can always solve their problems, while only 55% of others agree.

Finally, there is one typology group that is by definition apolitical:

Bystanders: Bystanders have an almost total lack of interest in politics and public affairs. This urban, lower socio-economic group contains many young singles. Forty-six percent of Bystanders say they seldom vote.

The table below shows the percentage of the survey respondents in each typology group for this survey.

	PERCENT
Enterprisers	10
Moralists	14
Upbeats	12
Disaffecteds	13
Bystanders/Other	16
Seculars	8
60's Democrats	6
New Dealers	5
Pocketbook Dems.	16

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
21ST CENTURY VOTER
MAY 28 - JUNE 10, 1992
N=3517

SEX: 1[ ]Male 2[ ]Female

INTERVIEWER'S NAME: ____________

TIME STARTED: ____________

INTERVIEWER'S I.D.: ____________

TIME FINISHED: ____________

PAGE NUMBER: ____________

LENGTH: ____________

REPLICATE NUMBER: ____________

REGION:
1 East
2 Midwest
3 South
4 West

STRATUM:
1 Stratum One
2 Stratum Two
3 Remainder

DATE: ____________

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am ____________ calling for the Princeton Survey Research Associates from Princeton, New Jersey. We are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

		NEWS INTEREST INDEX							
		May 1992	March 1992	Feb 1992	Jan 1992	Nov 1991	Oct 1991	July 1991	May 1991
32	Approve	37	38	39	46	55	61	67	77
57	Disapprove	51	52	53	43	33	28	23	16
11	Don't know	12	10	8	11	12	11	10	7
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.6 Suppose the 1992 Presidential election were being held today. If George Bush were the Republican candidate and Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton were the Democratic candidate who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q.6 ASK:
Q.8 As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican or do you lean more to Bill Clinton the Democrat?

		May 1992	Mar 1992
46	George Bush - with leaners	46	50
41	Bill Clinton - with leaners	43	43
13	Other/Undecided	11	7
100		100	100
			(557)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' GEORGE BUSH OR '2' BILL CLINTON IN Q.6 ASK:
Q.7 Do you support **(INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.6)** strongly or only moderately?

Strength of support

		May 1992	Mar 1992
46	George Bush	46	50
13	Strongly	15	19
33	Only moderately	31	31
41	Bill Clinton	43	43
9	Strongly	10	9
32	Only moderately	33	34
13	Other/undecided	11	7
100		100	100
			(557)

ASK ALL:
FORM 1
Q.9f1 And suppose the candidates were George Bush, the Republican candidate, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, the Democratic candidate, and Ross Perot was the Independent candidate, who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '4' OTHER OR '5' UNDECIDED IN Q.9f1 ASK:
FORM 1
Q.10f1 As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or do you lean toward Ross Perot, the Independent?

		May 1992	Form 2[2] Asked Without 2 Way First
31	George Bush - with leaners	33	33
27	Bill Clinton - with leaners	30	24
36	Ross Perot - with leaners	30	31
6	Other/Undecided	7	12
100		100	100
			(1004)

ASK ALL:
FORM 2
Q.9f2 And suppose the candidates were George Bush, the Republican candidate, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, the Democratic candidate, and Former Army General Norman Schwartzkopf was the Independent candidate, who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '4' OTHER OR '5' UNDECIDED IN Q.9f2 ASK:
FORM 2
Q.10F2 As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or do you lean toward Former Army General Norman Schwartzkopf as the Independent candidate?

35	George Bush - with leaners
27	Bill Clinton - with leaners
29	Norman Schwartzkopf - with leaners
9	Other/Undecided
100	

---

[2] Separate National Survey - field dates June 5-9, 1992.

Q.22 Some people feel that what this country needs is some really strong leadership that would try to solve problems directly without worrying how Congress and the Supreme Court might feel. Others think that such strong leadership might be dangerous. What do you think?

		Newsweek 1976
63	Need strong leadership	49
27	Strong leadership might be dangerous	44
10	Don't know	7
100		100

Q.43 I'd like your opinion of some people. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who I name. First, would you describe your opinion of **(ITEM)** as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable? **(ROTATE)**

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
a. George Bush	13	38	29	18	0	2=100
May, 1992	13	42	25	17	0	3=100
March, 1992	18	45	23	13	0	1=100
February, 1992	26	38	20	14	0	2=100
January, 1992	20	43	22	13	0	2=100
November, 1991	25	46	17	9	0	3=100
May, 1990	24	52	15	7	0	2=100
January, 1989	24	54	9	4	9=100	
*October, 1988	23	35	20	17	5=100	
*September, 1988	19	40	20	17	4=100	
*August, 1988	25	40	18	12	5=100	
May, 1988	11	40	25	17	7=100	
January, 1988	11	41	26	13	9=100	
September, 1987	18	51	19	8	4=100	
May, 1987	11	56	19	7	7=100	
b. Bill Clinton	10	36	33	14	1	6=100
May, 1992	11	42	32	10	*	5=100
March, 1992	10	43	29	11	1	6=100
February, 1992	15	44	24	7	2	8=100
January, 1992	9	28	11	4	27	21=100
November, 1991	5	25	8	2	39	21=100
c. Ross Perot	18	35	18	8	5	16=100
May,1992	11	39	20	7	2	21=100
March, 1992	11	18	15	6	29	21=100
d. Dan Quayle	7	26	34	27	1	5=100
November, 1991	9	40	28	15	1	7=100
May, 1990	6	41	24	15	4	10=100
*October, 1988	10	33	21	24	*	12=100
*September, 1988	9	32	17	15	2	25=100
*August, 1988	12	38	19	9	2	20=100
e. Norman Schwartzkopf	41	33	9	4	5	8=100
March, 1991	62	22	2	11	5	8=100
f. Bill Bradley	8	27	17	6	22	20=100
g. Jack Kemp	9	26	21	5	18	21=100
h. Colin Powell	30	35	11	4	10	10=100
March, 1991	51	28	2	1	7	11=100

***Based on registered voters**

DO NOT ROTATE ITEMS:

Q.900 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)**

	Completely Agree	Agree	Mostly Disagree	Mostly	Completely Disagree	(VOL) Don't Know
q. It is time for Washington politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders		38	46	12	2	2=100
u. We need new people in Washington even if they are not as effective as experienced politicians		20	36	30	11	3=100

C8915- 4. 14-F

Times Mirror
Center for
The People &
The Press

N E W S Release

1875 Eye Street, N.W., Suite 1110
Washington, D.C. 20006
202 293-3126

FOR RELEASE: WEDNESDAY, JULY 8, 1992, A.M.

The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92:

"The Generations Divide"

Survey VIII

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202/293-3126

SUMMARY AND OVERVIEW

On the eve of the national political conventions the American electorate is composed of three generations that are likely to play vastly different roles in the coming election. Americans over 50 may be the first generation of older people in modern history to spearhead a political revolution, and middle-aged people, clustered in the oversized ***"baby boom"*** generation, are at last poised to make their presence felt on election day.

"The Generations Divide," a Times Mirror survey of 3500 Americans of voting age, suggests a strong possibility that turnout this November will be higher than was the case in the presidential election of 1988. Nevertheless, the ***"21st Century Voter"*** generation of people under 35 continues to be uncritical of the American political system, indifferent to the process that shapes its content and substantially less likely than its older fellow citizens to go to the polls.

In dramatic contrast to past eras of social and political transition the vanguard of the movement toward political change is composed of older Americans. It is those citizens over 50, among Democrats, Independents and Republicans alike, who express most discontent with the way the system works, who call most vigorously for a change in political leadership and who are most ill at ease with the change in social attitudes and standards that are much more readily accepted by younger Americans.

The eighth in a series of Campaign '92 reports by the ***Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press*** is focused on how Americans of different generations are responding to the election campaign, on the nature of differences in the political values of the generations and on the foundations of the generation gap in political participation that is sapping the strength from voter participation in national elections.

While younger voters, especially those under 35, lean to the GOP, older voters, on balance, continue to show stronger support for the Democratic party and to be George Bush's harshest critics. Older voters were the first to be attracted to independent candidate Ross Perot and continue to express stronger personal enthusiasm for him than do people under 50 years of age.

Confounding basic concepts of political science and sociology, it is older people who say they want to run risks for the sake of change. Close to two out of three older Americans take the position that new leadership is needed, ***even if*** there's a chance it will be ineffective. Fewer than half of those under 30 favor following that course.

The 50 & older generation doesn't confine its anger to the political system. Older people are more likely than middle-aged people to rail against the inefficiencies of the federal bureaucracy while at the same time they call into question the power and profits of big business. On almost every measure of evaluation the post-New Deal generations voice more criticism of politics, business and federal bureaucracy than do people who came of age in the 60's, 70's, or 80's.

Baby Boomers Weigh In

At the same time as the older generation expresses its discontent the ***"baby boomers"*** born in the aftermath of World War II appear ready to assume a larger role in the political process. The survey gives strong indication that these middle-aged progeny of World War II will vote in substantially higher numbers than ever before.

Middle-aged people accurately report a past voting record well below what older voters report. However, the gap between the middle-aged and older people disappears on measures that bear directly on voting turnout in November of 1992. Middle-aged people are paying as close attention to the campaign as older people, and are as likely to say they are ***"absolutely certain"*** to vote as older citizens.

There is independent historical evidence in the analysis of Gallup polls since 1968 indicating that voter registration among the baby boom generation has been increasing as this generation matures. In the case of most people categorized as ***"middle-aged"***, reported registration is at the same level as previous middle-aged generations.

Turnout Up

There are interesting signs of a potential upturn in voting totals. The percentage of people who say they have given quite a lot of thought to the coming election is higher than it has been in previous elections and people have told Times Mirror in three surveys this year that they are more interested in this election than they were in 1988.

The percentage reporting *"more interest"* is 13% points higher than it was in a 1976 *Newsweek* survey [1].

The survey finds that while the awakening political interest of the baby boom generation may be playing a role in increased voting intentions, Ross Perot's candidacy is making a contribution of its own. Compared to Bush or Clinton backers, Perot's supporters are more likely to say they are more interested in politics this year, and appear to have given a lot more thought to the election than those who favor either of the two major party candidates.

These findings suggest that the possibility of higher turnout in November could be threatened if Perot's supporters are deflated by problems with his candidacy.

At the other extreme there seems little prospect that young people will go to the polls in November in any greater numbers than they have in the past. Even as the 60s generation shakes off its 20 years of political catatonia Americans 18 to 34 years old continue to sleep. People under 35 represent over one third of the voting age population, but only about a fourth (28%) will go to the polls on election day based upon the voting intentions measured in this poll.

	Voting Age Population %	Probable Electorate %
18-34	36	28
35-49	28	31
50 & Older	36	41
	100	100

The survey, which oversampled younger people and African Americans in order to understand the political lethargy of this generation finds that indifference to politics and public policy is common to young people in all walks of life. However, the voter problem, at least as it is manifested in voter registration, is concentrated in one segment of young America - those who have not attended college.

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[1] A March 1976 Gallup survey for *Newsweek* is frequently used for a frame of reference in this report. The survey was taken in the aftermath of Watergate to measure voter disillusionment with the political process, therefore providing an important perspective on attitudes in 1992.

Registration Tumbles Among Less Well-Educated

While voting turnout has lagged among young people in recent presidential elections, there has been little change in voter registration ***since the early 1960's*** among young college-trained people. Almost all of the fall-off in registration, and much of the fall-off in voting we suspect, has occurred among people who have had no further formal education after high school.

In June of 1960, 74% of college graduates under 35 were registered to vote. In the late spring of each presidential election year comparable percentages of young college graduates have been registered. For example, in the current survey we observe 75%. Similarly, young people who attended college without graduating or attended technical or trades schools after high school show the same levels of registration today, as was observed in 1960 and 1964 by the Gallup Poll.

In contrast, ***voting registration fell 17% points since 1960 among young Americans whose formal education ended with a high school diploma or earlier.*** The widened gap in registration between well-educated young people and less well-educated people has been evident since the mid-1970's. This is coincident with the decline in voting among young people in recent national elections.

In exploring reasons for non-participation, the Times Mirror Center survey finds most people reporting that the physical barriers to registration or voting itself are not very great. Only one in four of those who say they don't always vote say it's difficult to get out to vote, and only one in eight say it's complicated to register. More often, non-voters of all ages say they don't know enough about the candidates or don't like any of the candidates.

Sense of Obligation Missing

These attitudes notwithstanding, the Times Mirror Center learned that failure to see voting as a civic duty is an even more important determinant of voting than discontent with the political system, lack of information about politics or even feeling that one's vote doesn't count.

Younger people, especially less well-educated young people, are far less likely than older people to see voting as an obligation of citizenship. Only half of new voters this year completely agree that it is their duty as citizens to always vote while nearly 80% of those over fifty are of that opinion.

The survey suggests that the indifference of young people to national affairs plays a large role in low turnout among this generation ***because there is no sense of obligation to compel the young to vote despite their disinterest.*** There is certainly more compulsion to vote among older people.

And it is among the less well-educated young where a lack of civic duty is most manifest and interest in the larger world least apparent.

College-trained people, young and old alike, are equally likely to feel it's their duty to vote. But less well-educated people under 35 feel that obligation to much less a degree than older people without much formal education (46% vs. 72%).

The indifference of young Americans of a lower social and economic order is an important element in partisan politics as well. The Democrats continue to enjoy an advantage over the GOP in party identification because less well-educated people over 35 years of age have a greater affinity to the Democratic party. ***But among people under 35, the Democrats attract no greater number of adherents among less well-educated young people than they do among young college graduates.***

As a consequence, this Times Mirror survey finds the GOP and George Bush better regarded among people under 35 than among older Americans. Bush has a 45% approval rating among 18-24 year olds, compared to a 25% approval rating among people 65 and older. The Republican party has an 8% point advantage over the Democrats among people under 25 years of age, while it trails the Democrats by that same margin among people 65 and older.

Young Blacks Bush Critics, But Independent

When it comes to George Bush there is no generation gap among African Americans. Young blacks are as critical of the President as older blacks. Just 14% of blacks under 35 approve of the way George Bush is handling his job. But, African Americans under 35 do not show the same loyalty to the Democratic party that older blacks do - 53% identify with the Democrats compared to 88% among blacks 50 and older. The GOP is failing to capitalize on this movement away from the Democratic party, as only 7% of blacks aged 18-34 identify with the Republican party. Fully 39% of young blacks see themselves as Independents ***and nearly three in ten support Perot.***

Racial issues themselves have a distinct generational character. Although middle-aged people are closer to older people on partisan issues and in civic attitudes, they are closer to younger people on questions of race and other social policy issues.

White Americans under 50 are more sensitive to the problems of black people than older people. Young white people see a lack of black progress and think that discrimination is common more often than do older people. However, the generation gap on race is greater on the social dimension than it is on questions of public policy.

The vast majority of people under 50 years of age think that inter-racial dating is acceptable, while most older people disapprove. But seventy percent of whites of all age groups vote down preferential treatment for blacks and other minorities.

Over 50, Under 50, A Social Values Gap

The post-World War II generations are more tolerant than people 50 years of age and older. They express more opposition to censorship and more support for the rights of homosexuals than voters who came of age before or during World War II. people 50 and older.

Abortion is the only leading issue of the day that has a decisive generational element to it. People under 50 express consistently more support for choice, while older people voice more support for increased restrictions on abortion. Times Mirror surveys since the ***Webster*** decision have shown on a number of occasions that women under 35 pay much more attention to abortion news than do people in other groups within the population.

Abortion is one of the few issues that young people pay as much attention to as older people. But there is no indication in the current survey that the under 35 generation is any less indifferent to the larger world around it than it has been in recent years.

Times Mirror's monthly polls since the beginning of the campaign find younger people paying less attention to news about the election than older people, and absorbing less about the candidates and the course of the contest than older people. These surveys have also shown that the media habits of young Americans reinforce the political vacuum that appears to surround significant numbers among them.

The current poll finds that nearly half of people under 35 years of age say they rely on television without the benefit of newspapers for news about the election campaign. Among this segment of the public, only 17% know that the Democratic party controls both houses of Congress. By comparison, 56% of people 50 and older who are relying on newspapers at least to some extent for campaign coverage know which party controls Congress.

GENERATIONAL POLITICS

Party Identification

As has been the case in recent years, fewer younger voters identify with the Democratic party than do older people. Among 18-24 year olds the GOP holds a 8% point advantage over the Democratic party. That advantage diminishes markedly for each incremental age category to the point that the ***Democratic*** party holds an 8% point advantage over the Republican party among people 65 years of age and older. As shown in the table below, age 35 appears to be the significant dividing point. Below that age more people self identify with the GOP, while the Democrats have an advantage among people 35 and over.

Party Identification	*Total*	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
Republican	28	29	32	27	27	25	31
Democrat	32	21	25	27	33	39	39
Independent	38	48	42	43	39	32	28

(Based on Q.D7, D7A and D8)

The Democrats enjoy an advantage among older people because older less well-educated people and older blacks have a strong affinity to the party. However, among people below fifty years of age education is not a strong determinant of party identification. The Democrats attract no greater number of adherents among less well-educated young people than they do among young college graduates.

Young blacks do not identify with the Democratic party nearly to the extent that older blacks do. But the Republican party is not a beneficiary of the Democratic party's problems with young blacks. Blacks under 35 years of age are much more likely to think of themselves as political ***independents*** than are older blacks, but are not more likely to identify with the GOP.

	Republican	Democrat	Independent	N
Age By Education				
18-34				
College graduate	35	24	40	(386)
College incomplete	32	26	41	(504)
High school or less	25	24	49	(640)
35-49				
College graduate	33	30	37	(352)
College incomplete	26	28	46	(266)
High school or less	25	37	36	(340)
50-64				
College graduate	37	25	35	(151)
College incomplete	28	27	42	(143)
High school or less	21	49	29	(294)
65+				
College incomplete	41	23	36	(165)
High school graduate	34	33	29	(155)
Less than high school	22	56	22	(104)

	Republican	Democrat	Independent	N
Age By Race				
18-34				
White	33	20	45	(1184)
Black	7	53	39	(227)
35-49				
White	30	29	40	(797)
Black	3	64	30	(120)
50+				
White	31	34	33	(883)
Black	1	88	11	(103)
Age By Sex				
18-34				
Men	32	22	45	(816)
Women	26	27	45	(716)
35-49				
Men	31	29	40	(497)
Women	24	36	39	(461)
50+				
Men	29	36	32	(435)
Women	27	42	29	(579)

Presidential Approval

Younger people also continue to be more positive about George Bush than older people. Bush's greater popularity among the young is linked to the support he has among less well-educated young people; those under 35 who have attended or graduated from college are far more critical of Bush's performance. Unlike others of their generation, young African-Americans disapprove of Bush as much as their elders do.

George Bush's Job Ratings
(Based on Q.1)

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know
Age			
18-24	45	47	8
25-29	34	54	12
30-34	35	52	13
35-49	32	58	10
50-64	29	61	10
65+	25	63	12
Age By Education			
18-34			
College graduate	37	57	6
College incomplete	35	55	10
High school or less	41	46	13
35-49			
College graduate	33	61	6
College incomplete	27	63	10
High school or less	34	54	12
50-64			
College graduate	33	59	8
College incomplete	30	59	11
High school or less	27	62	11
65+			
College incomplete	31	61	8
High school graduate	22	64	14
Less than high school	22	64	14

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know
Age By Race			
18-34			
White	41	47	12
Black	14	78	7
35-49			
White	35	55	11
Black	12	84	4
50+			
White	29	60	11
Black	10	78	12

(Based on Q.1)

The gender gap remains an element in President Bush's declining job approval ratings. It is most apparent among middle-aged people and least evident among men and women who are fifty and older.

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know
Age By Sex			
18-34			
Men	40	53	7
Women	37	49	14
35-49			
Men	36	55	9
Women	29	61	10
50+			
Men	27	63	10
Women	27	61	12

(Based on Q.1)

The Presidential Race

Americans under 35 years of age show somewhat more support for George Bush than do older people. Ross Perot, however, has gained significant support among young people over the past month. Older voters who have most clamored for political changes over the past few years have shown the most consistent support for unannounced candidate Ross Perot. Older people continue to show more strong enthusiasm for Perot - 24% of people 50 & older rate him very favorably, compared to only 16% among younger people.

While older people generally have shown more support for Perot than the young, this is not the case among blacks. African-Americans, 50 & older, show more support for Clinton and less support for Perot than younger blacks. ***As many as three in ten blacks under 50 say they would like to see Perot win if the election were being held today.***

	Bush	*Clinton*	*Perot*
Age			
18-24	35	27	33
25-29	33	30	36
30-34	29	22	42
35-49	30	29	35
50-64	34	27	34
65+	28	29	36
Age By Race			
18-34			
White	36	21	38
Black	11	55	28
35-49			
White	33	26	36
Black	5	56	30
50+			
White	34	24	37
Black	10	59	16

(Based on Q.9f1 and 10f1)

Issue Positions and Public Priorities

Times Mirror polls over the past nine months have found that compared to the post-war generations, older people stand out as having grown more disillusioned with the political system and more disposed to vote for change than people under 50 years of age.

Compared to younger people, people 50 and older say they are worse off financially than they were four years ago and they judge the condition of the country more harshly than do younger Americans. Throughout the campaign it has been older voters, not the young, who have expressed the most displeasure with the candidates. In the current survey, two- thirds of those 65 years of age and older say they are not satisfied with the choices for 1992. Discontent is less evident among younger people. Among the youngest group, 18-24s, there is an even division between those satisfied (50%) and those dissatisfied with the candidates (48%).

These differences not withstanding, young people are troubled by the same issues and problems that beset older people. Jobs and the economy are the predominant concerns of people of all ages. Reflecting their stage in the life cycle, younger people report that they have more trouble in affording housing and the cost of education than do older people, while older people are much more troubled by health care costs.

Abortion is the only current issue with a real generational character. A May nationwide Times Mirror poll found that six in ten (62%) oppose changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion. Younger Americans are much more strongly opposed to this than older Americans. Two-thirds (67%) of those under age 50 feel this way, compared with only 54% of those over 50.

Times Mirror's ***News Interest Index*** surveys have consistently found that abortion is the only national policy issue that attracts as large an audience among under 35's as it does among older people. Young women are especially sensitive to news about this issue.

	Total	*18-29*	*30-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
Changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion					
Favor	30	28	28	35	32
Oppose	62	68	66	53	55
Don't know	8	4	6	12	13
	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on May 1992 Times Mirror survey)

		18-29		*30-49*		*50+*	
	Total	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*
[2]The Supreme Court's deliberations about the legality of restrictions on abortion in Pennsylvania							
Very Closely	28	19	40	24	33	20	32
Fairly Closely	34	38	31	34	41	31	32
Not too Closely	24	28	19	27	17	29	22
Not at all Closely	13	15	10	15	7	18	13
Don't know	1	*	*	*	2	2	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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[2] This question was asked in the May, 1992 News Interest Index.

POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC VALUES

Generation and the Voter Revolt

The Times Mirror value monitor continues to reflect high levels of voter discontent with the political system and political status quo. More Americans than in previous years feel that Washington leaders have lost touch with the people, that elected officials don't care about them and that the government is not run in the people's interest.

All of these sentiments were more prevalent in Times Mirror's 1991 survey than in earlier years and the current poll finds no abatement in public distrust and displeasure with politics, and politicians. Moreover, the current survey finds even more Americans today than in November saying that it is time for politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders. Agreement with that idea has increased by 23% points over the past two years!

	1987	*1990*	*1991*	*1992*
POLITICAL ALIENATION				
People like me don't have any say about what the government does				
Agree	52	57	50	50
Disagree	46	42	49	49
Don't know	2	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100
Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly				
Agree	73	78	84	84
Completely	22	30	41	35
Disagree	24	19	15	15
Don't know	3	3	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100
Most elected officials care what people like me think				
Agree	47	44	36	36
Disagree	49	53	62	62
Don't know	4	3	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100
The government is really run for the benefit of all the people				
Agree	57	52	48	44
Disagree	39	45	50	54
Don't know	4	3	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.40a, b, c and m)

	1987	1990	1991	1992
OUTSIDERISM				
Time for politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders				
Agree	62	61	77	84
Completely	16	21	32	38
Disagree	29	30	20	14
Don't know	9	9	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100
We need new people in Washington even if they are not as effective as experienced politicians				
Agree	44	47	N/A	56
Disagree	48	47	N/A	41
Don't know	8	6	N/A	3
Total	100	100		100

(Based on Q.40q and u)

Older people consistently have voiced more discontent with the political system and called more loudly for new political leadership than have younger people. In the current poll, fewer than one in three people under 30 ***completely agree*** that it's time for politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders, while nearly half of people 65 and older subscribe to that view. So it is with just about every measure of voter discontent in the survey. Voter anger increases steadily with age.

	Total	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-49	50-64	65+
OUTSIDERISM							
Time for politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders							
Agree	84	80	85	85	83	82	87
Completely	38	29	32	37	36	40	49
Disagree	14	18	14	13	15	15	10
Don't know	2	2	1	2	2	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
We need new people in Washington even if they are not as effective as experienced politicians							
Agree	56	45	48	52	57	62	67
Completely	20	12	13	14	20	26	26
Disagree	41	54	50	46	41	34	28
Don't know	3	1	2	2	2	4	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.40q and u)

Under 35 Generation Less Critical of Business and the Bureaucracy

As younger people are less critical than older people of the political system, they also express fewer reservations about business and government bureaucracy. People in their early thirties and twenties have a less negative view than older people of corporate profits, are less suspicious of the power of business and are more of the view that corporations demonstrate public responsibility.

When they consider government, the under 35 generation complains less than their elders about the inefficiencies of government, the difficulties in dealing with government agencies and have fewer reservations about the worth of government regulation of business.

There is no clear indication why young people are less critical of society's institutions than people over 35. Analysis of the survey finds no educational, gender or racial components to this generational difference. It even seems unrelated to the poor voting record of the under 35 generation. Young people who have taken the trouble to register to vote are also much less critical of business, the bureaucracy and the political system than are older voters.

	Total	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-49	50-64	65+
BUREAUCRACY							
When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful							
Agree	70	50	65	67	74	76	75
Completely	29	16	20	24	30	37	38
Disagree	28	48	33	31	24	21	22
Don't know	2	2	2	2	2	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
The federal government controls too much of our daily lives							
Agree	65	51	58	60	67	71	73
Completely	28	18	23	20	27	35	40
Disagree	33	48	41	39	31	26	24
Don't know	2	1	1	1	2	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.40i, j, l and r)

	Total	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
Dealing with a federal government agency is often not worth the trouble							
Agree	64	59	61	66	68	66	61
Completely	21	14	16	20	22	25	26
Disagree	31	38	37	32	29	27	29
Don't know	5	3	2	2	3	7	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good							
Agree	61	55	53	59	64	62	66
Completely	19	14	12	13	19	26	23
Disagree	33	41	42	37	31	31	25
Don't know	6	4	5	4	5	7	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

BUSINESS ATTITUDES

	Total	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies							
Agree	76	76	73	78	79	77	73
Completely	30	25	22	30	29	35	33
Disagree	21	22	25	20	19	19	21
Don't know	3	2	2	2	2	4	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Business corporations make too much profit							
Agree	59	53	56	63	60	63	61
Disagree	35	43	39	34	35	31	29
Don't know	6	4	5	3	5	6	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
The strength of the U.S. today is based on the success of American business							
Agree	78	80	80	79	79	76	76
Completely	24	25	22	20	22	27	27
Disagree	19	19	18	19	19	22	17
Don't know	3	1	2	2	2	2	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Corporations strike a fair balance between profits and the public interest							
Agree	41	49	45	36	35	42	42
Disagree	55	50	53	62	62	54	47
Don't know	4	1	2	2	3	4	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.40h, n, o and p)

Racial Attitudes Continue to Change

A Times Mirror poll in 1991 pointed to a growing awareness among whites that black progress had stalled. In the aftermath of the Rodney King verdict and the LA riots that trend has further accelerated. In 1987 only 25% of whites agreed that there hasn't been much improvement in the position of black people in the past few years.[3] In 1991 that percentage rose to 41% and in the current survey it has reached 54%, nearly doubling in the past 5 years.

Other views about race have shown less change. Notably, the vast majority of whites (68%) continues to be opposed to preferential treatment for blacks and other minorities as a means of improving their position in this country. As has been found in the past most blacks continue to support preferential treatment (67%) and a slim majority of people (53%) of other racial minorities do as well. Compared to 1987 more blacks feel that black people have not made progress in this country (82%). But the change is more modest than among whites because this was a prevalent view of blacks in 1987 (67%).

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[3] Due to an observed methodological difference in responses to racial questions in personal and telephone interviews, only results of phone interviews conducted in 1987, 1991 and the current survey are compared. In 1990 only personal interviews were conducted, so comparisons are not made.

RACIAL TOLERANCE *(BASED ON WHITES)*	*1987*	*1991*	*1992*
In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country			
Agree	25	41	54
Disagree	72	52	42
Don't know	3	7	4
Total	100	100	100
I think it's alright for blacks and whites to date each other			
Agree	56	63	61
Disagree	40	33	35
Don't know	5	4	4
Total	100	100	100
We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment			
Agree	25	26	29
Disagree	72	71	68
Don't know	3	3	3
Total	100	100	100
Discrimination against Blacks is rare today			
Agree	N/A	N/A	19
Disagree	N/A	N/A	77
Don't know	N/A	N/A	4
Total			100

(Based on Q.50dd, ee, ff and gg)

	1987	1991	1992
RACIAL TOLERANCE *(BASED ON BLACKS)*			
In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country			
Agree	67	73	82
Disagree	32	25	17
Don't know	1	2	1
Total	100	100	100
I think it's alright for blacks and whites to date each other			
Agree	84	86	81
Disagree	12	10	12
Don't know	4	4	7
Total	100	100	100
We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment			
Agree	62	60	67
Disagree	37	34	28
Don't know	1	6	5
Total	100	100	100
Discrimination against Blacks is rare today			
Agree	N/A	N/A	15
Disagree	N/A	N/A	83
Don't know	N/A	N/A	2
Total			100

(Based on Q.50dd, ee, ff and gg)

White Americans under 50 are more sensitive to the problems of black people than are older people. Young white people see a lack of black progress and think that discrimination is common more often than do older people. However, the generation gap on race is greater on the social dimension than it is as to policy.

Seventy-nine percent of white people under 35 think that racial dating is ok, compared to a somewhat lower percentage (66%) among middle-aged people and a much lower proportion among whites 50 & older (42%). In contrast, large majorities of all age groups of whites vote down preferential treatment for blacks and other minorities.

	Total	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
RACIAL TOLERANCE (BASED ON WHITES)							
In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country							
Agree	54	**57**	**57**	55	57	**49**	**50**
Disagree	42	40	41	42	39	46	43
Don't know	4	3	2	3	4	5	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
I think it's alright for blacks and whites to date each other							
Agree	61	**79**	**79**	77	66	**46**	**38**
Completely	30	51	46	44	30	16	13
Disagree	35	21	20	20	30	49	54
Don't know	4	*	1	3	4	5	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment							
Agree	29	44	28	26	27	22	31
Disagree	68	55	70	72	72	73	64
Completely	30	22	32	30	31	33	28
Don't know	3	1	2	2	1	5	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Discrimination against Blacks is rare today							
Agree	19	17	17	17	16	22	26
Disagree	77	**82**	81	81	81	74	**66**
Completely	32	38	35	34	33	28	26
Don't know	4	1	2	2	3	4	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.50dd, ee, ff and gg)

There is also a generation gap on racial matters among blacks. Many more older blacks feel strongly that black people have not made racial progress and feel strongly that racial discrimination is common place. As with whites, young blacks and older blacks differ substantially on interracial dating, but show little difference in their views about racial quotas.

	Total	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
RACIAL TOLERANCE (BASED ON BLACKS)							
In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country							
Agree	82	75	76	84	83	87	82
Completely	51	44	35	46	54	61	62
Disagree	17	24	24	16	17	12	13
Don't know	1	1	0	0	0	1	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
I think it's alright for blacks and whites to date each other							
Agree	81	88	93	86	81	78	60
Completely	48	52	64	48	49	46	26
Disagree	13	7	5	9	15	15	22
Don't know	6	5	2	5	4	7	18
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities,even if it means giving them preferential treatment							
Agree	67	69	64	62	70	61	77
Completely	38	36	29	43	40	27	56
Disagree	28	28	30	34	26	32	15
Don't know	5	3	6	4	4	7	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Discrimination against Blacks is rare today							
Agree	15	17	21	19	6	14	25
Disagree	83	82	79	80	93	86	65
Completely	62	62	60	62	70	67	39
Don't know	2	1	0	1	1	0	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.50dd, ee, ff and gg)

Social Justice and Self Reliance

Although attitudes toward race have changed in recent years, there is no indication of changing views about social justice and social welfare. Americans of all ages and walks of life continue to feel that society should do what is necessary to guarantee equal opportunity (93%) and take care of people who can't take care of themselves (69%). But, almost equally large majorities of people feel that poor people have become too dependent on government assistance programs (79%).

As these seemingly contradictory viewpoints are probed further the survey reveals an even deeper tension in public attitudes. By a relatively narrow 53% to 43% margin the public continues to agree that the government should help the needy, even if it means going deeper into debt. As many as 40% thinks that equal rights have been pushed too far, while 57% disagree. Similarly, the public divides 63% to 33% on whether people today feel they can get ahead without working hard and making sacrifices. Opinions about self reliance show little racial or economic differences. Seventy-four percent of blacks earning less than $20,000 a year feel that the poor have become too dependent on government assistance, as do only slightly more whites who earn $50,000 or more annually (82%).

There is, however, a clear racial and socio-economic pattern to beliefs about how much resources should be devoted to helping the needy. Only 42% of whites earning $50,000 or more annually think that the government should provide more assistance to the needy, at the risk of going further into debt, but 80% of blacks who earn less than $20,000 a year believe that government is so obliged.

	1987	1990	1991	1992
WELFARISM				
Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed				
Agree	90	91	94	93
Completely	37	45	64	59
Disagree	8	7	5	6
Don't know	2	2	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100
The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt				
Agree	53	51	51	53
Disagree	40	44	46	43
Don't know	7	5	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100
The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep				
Agree	62	62	73	66
Completely	22	27	41	32
Disagree	33	34	25	32
Don't know	5	4	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100
We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country				
Agree	42	43	38	40
Disagree	53	53	59	57
Don't know	5	4	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100
It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves				
Agree	71	67	N/A	69
Completely	21	23	N/A	28
Disagree	24	29	N/A	28
Don't know	5	4	N/A	3
Total	100	100		100

(Based on Q.50v, w, x, y and z)

There are almost no generational differences on self reliance. But younger Americans and middle-age people are modestly more supportive of guaranteeing equal opportunity and are not likely to feel that equal rights have been pushed too hard.

	Total	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-49	50-64	65+
SELF RELIANCE							
I admire people who get rich by working hard							
Agree	89	89	90	89	91	85	88
Completely	47	51	51	44	46	45	48
Disagree	10	11	9	11	8	14	11
Don't know	1	*	1	*	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Many people today think they can get ahead without working hard and making sacrifices							
Agree	63	68	62	63	62	64	63
Completely	24	26	20	19	22	30	29
Disagree	35	32	37	37	37	33	33
Don't know	2	*	1	*	1	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Poor people have become too dependent on government assistance programs							
Agree	79	79	78	76	78	81	82
Completely	35	34	36	29	32	39	42
Disagree	18	20	20	23	19	16	13
Don't know	3	1	2	1	3	3	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.40f1, r1 and Q.50nn1)

Isolationism, Militarism and Foreign Policy Values

Americans under 35 years of age are somewhat more inward looking and less internationalist than older people, but at the same time they are less aggressively nationalistic than older people. A larger percentage of people in their early thirties and twenties want more attention paid to domestic problems and less to international issues. And somewhat fewer young people favor the U.S. taking an active role in world affairs.

On the other hand fewer young people think that Japan has taken unfair advantage of the U.S., that we should restrict and control entry into our country or that recipients of international aid end up resenting the U.S.

Younger Americans are also somewhat less militaristic than older people. Fewer people under 50 subscribe to the view that Americans should be willing to fight for their country right or wrong - a view that is most shared by people 65 years and older. A majority of people under 30 disagree that the best way to ensure peace is through military strength, while more than six in ten of those over 50 believe in this concept.

	Total	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-49	50-64	65+
INTERNATIONAL BELIEFS							
Most of the countries that have gotten help from America end up resenting us							
Agree	74	61	68	72	74	84	77
Completely	30	18	23	24	29	40	41
Disagree	22	35	28	24	22	13	15
Don't know	4	4	4	4	4	3	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs							
Agree	92	88	92	93	92	94	91
Completely	47	39	43	46	48	53	50
Disagree	7	10	7	7	7	4	6
Don't know	1	2	1	*	1	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Japan has taken unfair advantage of the United States							
Agree	69	63	60	66	67	74	75
Completely	34	29	26	28	32	40	43
Disagree	27	34	37	30	29	22	18
Don't know	4	3	3	4	4	4	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home							
Agree	88	92	92	91	86	84	87
Completely	48	54	52	50	45	47	47
Disagree	11	8	7	8	13	14	10
Don't know	1	*	1	1	1	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
We should restrict and control people coming into our country to live more than we do now							
Agree	76	67	74	79	75	81	78
Completely	42	32	40	37	38	50	49
Disagree	21	31	24	20	22	16	18
Don't know	3	2	2	1	3	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.50gg1, mm, nn, nn2 and nn3)

	Total	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
MILITARISM							
It is my belief that we should get even with any country that tries to take advantage of the U.S.							
Agree	46	45	47	45	41	49	54
Disagree	49	53	51	52	54	43	38
Don't know	5	1	2	3	5	8	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
The best way to ensure peace is through military strength							
Agree	54	38	45	54	56	63	61
Disagree	43	61	54	45	41	34	33
Don't know	3	1	1	1	3	3	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
We all should be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong							
Agree	57	56	56	51	53	60	66
Completely	24	22	24	17	19	28	35
Disagree	39	43	43	48	43	36	26
Don't know	4	1	1	1	4	4	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.50hh, ii and kk)

These patterns appear to reflect long-term generational differences in views about foreign policy. There is no indication that the public as a whole has changed its views on any of these matters. Compared to 1987, there is no less support today for the U.S. playing a leading role in the world, nor is there less support for the idea that military strength is the best way of ensuring the peace.

International issues get lower priority from the public in the post-communist era, but this does not appear to indicate a new isolationism. Similarly, public support for defense cuts does not signal a national change of heart about the value of military strength.

	1987	1990	1991	1992
INTERNATIONAL BELIEFS				
Most of the countries that have gotten help from America end up resenting us				
Agree	71	73	N/A	73
Completely	21	27	N/A	30
Disagree	21	20	N/A	22
Don't know	8	7	N/A	5
Total	100	100		100
It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs				
Agree	87	89	92	91
Completely	32	39	54	47
Disagree	8	7	6	7
Don't know	5	4	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100
Japan has taken unfair advantage of the United States				
Agree	N/A	N/A	N/A	69
Completely	N/A	N/A	N/A	34
Disagree	N/A	N/A	N/A	27
Don't know	N/A	N/A	N/A	4
Total				100
We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home				
Agree	N/A	N/A	N/A	88
Completely	N/A	N/A	N/A	48
Disagree	N/A	N/A	N/A	11
Don't know	N/A	N/A	N/A	1
Total				100
We should restrict and control people coming into our country to live more than we do now				
Agree	N/A	N/A	N/A	76
Completely	N/A	N/A	N/A	42
Disagree	N/A	N/A	N/A	21
Don't know	N/A	N/A	N/A	3
Total				100

(Based on Q.50gg1, mm, nn, nn2 and nn3)

Personal Freedoms, Tolerance and Moral Values

Younger and middle-age Americans differ little in their tolerance of diverse points of view and lifestyles but they are consistently more tolerant than people 50 years of age and older. Only 42% of Americans over 50 years of age ***disapprove*** of school boards having the right to fire known homosexuals. This is in stark contrast with the youngest segment of the population: two in three Americans under 30 (67%) disapprove such policy.

Book banning is another issue about which the generations differ. The public as a whole is evenly divided on whether books containing dangerous ideas should be banned from school libraries: 48% agree with this, and 49% disagree. But a strong majority (61%) of Americans over 50 support banning books with dangerous ideas, compared with only 40% of those under 50.

Age is an even stronger factor than education in understanding views about censorship. Among Americans over 65, nearly half (48%) of those who are college-educated agree that books containing dangerous ideas should be banned, while only 19% of younger college-educated people approve of this.

Most Americans (58%) disagree with the notion that AIDS might be God's punishment for immoral sexual behavior, but almost half (47%) of Americans over age 50 are much less likely to see it this way. 36% do believe AIDS is God's punishment.

	Total	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
TOLERANCE & PERSONAL FREEDOMS							
School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals							
Agree	40	32	31	33	39	47	49
Disagree	55	67	67	65	57	46	38
Completely	28	38	37	36	30	19	18
Don't know	5	1	2	2	4	7	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries							
Agree	48	37	42	43	41	58	65
Completely	30	21	26	23	23	38	44
Disagree	49	62	57	54	56	39	31
Don't know	3	1	1	3	3	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
AIDS might be God's punishment for immoral sexual behavior							
Agree	36	39	31	32	31	42	42
Disagree	58	58	65	66	64	50	44
Completely	38	38	45	44	45	35	24
Don't know	6	3	4	2	5	8	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.55f, g and o)

Religious Values and Morality

Perhaps reflecting a life cycle pattern, people under 30 express a less rigorous religious belief than people 30 and older. More than eight in ten Americans (83%) agree that we'll all be called before God on Judgment Day to answer for our sins, and this belief is strongly held by 62%. But people under 30 are less likely to strongly believe this (54%) than older people (65%).

Eight in ten Americans (82%) also believe that even today miracles are performed by the power of God. Once again, the under 30's are less likely than others to agree completely (51% vs. 60%).

	Total	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-49	50-64	65+
RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM							
We will all be called before God at the judgment day to answer for our sins							
Agree	83	79	79	83	83	87	87
Completely	62	54	54	61	63	70	65
Disagree	14	19	19	14	14	10	10
Don't know	3	2	2	3	3	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Even today miracles are performed by the power of God							
Agree	82	81	79	83	82	85	83
Completely	57	48	53	56	58	65	59
Disagree	15	17	19	13	15	12	13
Don't know	3	2	2	4	3	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.55b and c)

Environmentalism

Young Americans are more likely to feel strongly that the country needs stricter laws to protect the environment but, like their elders, are more hesitant to agree that people should be willing to pay higher taxes in order to protect the environment.

	Total	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-49	50-64	65+
ENVIRONMENTALISM							
There need to be stricter laws and regulations to protect the environment							
Agree	90	94	92	94	89	88	86
Completely	54	63	59	54	52	52	52
Disagree	9	6	8	5	11	12	12
Don't know	1	*	*	1	*	*	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
People should be willing to pay higher prices in order to protect the environment							
Agree	67	67	66	67	69	68	63
Completely	26	26	26	25	25	27	26
Disagree	32	32	33	33	30	30	34
Don't know	1	1	1	*	1	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.50u1 and u2)

GENERATIONAL VIEWS OF: AMERICAN GROUPS AND INSTITUTIONS

Although public opinion of Dan Quayle remains largely unfavorable, his recent attacks on the popular culture are likely finding a sympathetic audience among the American public. By a 53% to 31% margin the public thinks that movies and TV shows are having a ***bad*** rather than good influence on the country. An even larger margin of disapproval is expressed about rock music by Times Mirror respondents - 57% bad influence, 27% good influence.

Congress is the only governmental institution tested that on balance was seen as having a negative influence on the country by the American public - 49% bad influence, 37% good influence. Local and state governments (60% good, 28% bad) and the courts (51% good, 37% bad) got better ratings. Media got better ratings than the branches of government. Newspapers were rated 72% good influence, 19% bad influence. CNN got a somewhat more positive rating - 76% good influence, 5% bad influence.

People who run their own businesses were top rated by Times Mirror's sampling. In fact, entrepreneurs were given a higher ***good*** influence rating (91%) than were the churches (85%). People who run their own business are certainly better regarded than those who run other people's businesses - ***41% of the Times Mirror sample thought that business executives were having a good influence on the country, while an equal number thought that corporate bosses were having a bad influence (43%).***

By and large, the special interest groups tested got positive evaluations. Seventy-five percent thought that environmentalists were having a positive influence on the country; 68% felt that way about the women's movement. Unions do not fare so well with the public. Fifty percent think they have a good influence, but as many as 39% think they are having a bad influence on the country.

Overall the generations differ little in their appraisals of the influence of the American institutions. Reflecting their less critical views, people under 30 were more likely than older people to think that all institutions and groups are having a positive influence on the country. For example, people under 30 more often thought that investors from other countries were having a good influence (42%) than did older people (30%).

people over 35 overwhelmingly thought both expressions of the popular culture were having a bad influence on the country.

College-educated younger people tended to have a more positive opinion of the influence of rock music than less well-educated young people. In fact, even middle-age college graduates were divided about the influence of rock music (36% good influence, 39% bad influence). In contrast, 62% of middle-aged people who did not graduate from college think that rock music is harming the country.

Race, not age or education, has the most to do with how people feel about the police. By a large margin (73% to 17%) whites think the police are having a good influence rather than a bad one on the country. Among blacks the division is quite different - 41% good influence, 42% bad influence.

	AGE IN YEARS						
INFLUENCE OF VARIOUS INSTS.[4]	*Total*	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
Newspapers							
Good	72	**84**	77	74	72	68	**60**
Bad	19	13	18	19	18	20	**22**
People Who Run Their Own Businesses							
Good	91	93	95	94	91	90	87
Bad	3	4	2	2	3	3	2
Business Executives							
Good	41	**55**	47	39	**36**	41	**36**
Bad	43	38	42	**48**	**48**	40	37
The Congress							
Good	37	**55**	35	37	37	34	**30**
Bad	49	**38**	56	54	49	52	49
Local & State Governments							
Good	60	**66**	59	60	59	62	**54**
Bad	28	28	35	30	30	25	25

(Based on Q.54f1)

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[4] Neither, Both and No Opinion responses have been omitted from this table.

	AGE IN YEARS						
INFLUENCE OF VARIOUS INSTS.	*Total*	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
The Churches							
Good	85	85	83	86	85	86	86
Bad	9	11	13	8	8	8	6
Unions							
Good	50	70	54	48	46	46	44
Bad	39	26	39	44	45	39	37
The Police							
Good	69	64	73	69	68	71	72
Bad	20	30	22	23	20	17	10
CNN							
Good	76	85	92	83	80	66	61
Bad	5	4	1	6	4	6	5
Movies & TV Shows							
Good	31	49	31	36	31	25	18
Bad	53	39	57	54	53	55	60
Rock Music							
Good	27	43	38	42	28	16	9
Bad	57	46	50	44	55	67	71
Environmentalists							
Good	75	86	85	84	80	68	52
Bad	15	12	13	11	13	20	22
The Courts							
Good	51	59	56	55	46	46	51
Bad	37	34	40	36	41	40	30
Investors from Other Countries							
Good	33	43	42	33	36	28	23
Bad	53	50	54	54	51	56	58
The Women's Movement							
Good	68	86	79	75	68	60	51
Bad	21	11	14	20	21	25	30
Computers & Technology							
Good	87	92	92	92	90	81	79
Bad	7	6	5	4	5	11	9

(Based on Q.54f1)

VOTING PARTICIPATION, POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

There are a number of indications in the survey that voter participation might be higher than it has been in recent elections.

The percentage of people saying that they have given ***"quite a lot"*** of thought to the election is as high in late May-early June as it was after the conventions in 1988, and it is substantially higher than the percentage of people who told Gallup that they had given a lot of thought to the election in late March 1976.

	March 1976	*August*[5] *1988* RV	*June 1992*	*June 1992* RV
Quite a lot	33	61	55	63
Some	21	10	6	6
Only a little	27	27	36	29
None/Don't know	9	2	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.5)

A greater number of people also report increased interest in politics this year than in 1976. In both the current survey and in March of this year over one half of those polled said they are more interested in politics this year. In March of 1976 only 42% made such claims.

	March 1976	*March 1992*	*June 1992*
More interested	42	57	55
Less	29	27	24
Same (VOL)	28	14	19
Don't know	1	2	2
Total	100	100	100

(Based on Q.22)

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[5] August, 1988 and June, 1992 are based on registered voters.

The survey also finds that middle-aged people, a group largely composed of the baby boom generation, are showing signs that they may vote at higher levels than in the past.

Middle-aged people accurately report that they have had a relatively poor voting record. Only 50% of people 35-49 tell us they always vote, compared to 60% among those 50-64 years of age and 69% among those 65 and older. However, the gap between middle-aged and older people all but disappears on measures that bear directly on turnout in November of 1992.

The so-called *"baby boomers"*, now in their middle years, are as likely as older people to say they plan to vote in November and to say that they have thought quite a lot about the upcoming election. In contrast, under 35's fall much below middle-aged and older people on all three measures.

	Total	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
Always vote	47	23	31	33	50	60	69
Plan to vote	75	56	68	69	81	81	81
Quite a lot of thought to election	55	36	45	50	62	64	58

(Based on Q.5, 17, 18 and 19)

Voter Registration

The principal generational factor in participation is voter registration which ranges from a low of 48% among 18-24 year olds to a high of 87% among those age 65 and older. There are two major increases in registration going up the age scale. Registration rises from 48% among new voters to 66% among people in their early 30's and then jumps again (to 79%) as people reach their middle-aged years. The overall age pattern observed in the current survey is close to what Times Mirror found five years ago in 1987. However, the current survey finds fewer people under 30 are registered than was the case in 1987.

	Total	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
1992							
Registration	73	48	53	66	79	85	87
1987							
Registration	77	56	65	75	82	86	88

(Based on Q.13 and 14)

Looking back to the mid-1970's, the current survey provides evidence of the extent to which the baby boom generation is observing a traditional pattern of increased registration as it moves through the life cycle. In 1976 only 56% of the people who are now 35-49 told Gallup that they were registered - fully 23% points below their current reported level of registration. Registration increased for this age cohort with each succeeding presidential election - by '80 64% were registered, in '84 70% and so on.

It is also important to note that today's middle aged people are registered at about the same level as were the two preceding generations when they were middle aged - 79% compared to 78% in 1980 for people who are now 50-64 and 81% in 1960 for people who are now 65 and older.

This historical cohort analysis also indicates that people under 30 (48%-53%) today are registered at far lower rates than were young people in 1960 (59%) but they are at about the same level as was the baby boom generation in 1968 (49%).

People 30-34 have shown a significant increase in registration since their first presidential election in 1984. Voter registration has climbed from 56% to 66% among this age cohort.

Voter Registration, 1960-1992: An Age Cohort Analysis

	Total	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65-85*
1992 Age							
% Registered	73	48	53	66	79	85	87
1987 Age	*Total*		*20-24*	*25-29*	*30-44*	*45-59*	*60-80*
% Registered	77		60	65	78	87	86
	Total			*22-26*	*27-41*	*42-56*	*57-77*
[6]1984 Age							
% Registered	74			56	70	86	85
	Total				*23-37*	*38-52*	*53-73*
1980 Age							
% Registered	74				64	78	80
	Total				*19-33*	*34-48*	*49-69*
1976 Age							
% Registered	70				56	73	83
	Total				*21-29*	*30-44*	*45-65*
1972 Age							
% Registered	76				55	78	87
	Total				*21-25*	*26-40*	*41-61*
1968 Age							
% Registered	76				49	71	84
	Total					*22-36*	*37-57*
1964 Age							
% Registered	79					69	84
	Total					*21-32*	*33-53*
1960 Age							
% Registered	76					59	81

(1992 percentages based on Q.13 and 14)

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[6] Survey in 1960-1984 are based on Gallup Polls conducted in the late spring of each election year.

If the greatest hope for increased participation is the maturation of the baby boom generation, the biggest impediment continues to be the low levels of probable participation among people under 35 years of age. The survey finds younger people, regardless of gender, race or education to be less likely to vote than older people in comparable demographic categories.

Moreover, ***extraordinarily low levels of registration, voting intentions and consideration of the election is evident for less well-educated young people.*** Indeed, there is a bigger voting gap by education among young people than there is among older people.

	18-34	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*[7]
REGISTERED				
College Graduate	75	89	95	95
College Incomplete	66	80	92	95
High School or Less	43	73	79	73
PLAN TO VOTE				
College Graduate	83	91	93	92
College Incomplete	70	85	91	86
High School or Less	52	73	74	70
QUITE A LOT OF THOUGHT TO ELECTION				
College Graduate	65	73	75	73
College Incomplete	50	65	73	64
High School or Less	31	53	58	43

(Based on Q.5, 13, 14, 17 and 18)

Although less well-educated young people have traditionally been registered at very low rates, historical analysis of Gallup Polls reveals that the education gap on voter registration has widened greatly since the early 1960's. This is especially true for the gap in registration between college-educated young people and less well-educated young people. The 32% point gap between these two groups in the current poll is typical for elections in the mid 70's and 80's. However, before 1976 the gap in registration between these two classes of young people was only half as great as it has been recently.

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[7] For those 65+ the education categories are: some college, high school graduate and less than high school.

VOTER REGISTRATION LEVELS BY AGE BY EDUCATION

	18-34	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
1992				
College or more	75	89	95	95
Some college	66	80	92	95
High school or less	43	73	79	73
Difference	*32*	*16*	*16*	*22*
1984				
College or more	79	89	93	92
Some college	65	81	93	92
High school or less	50	71	84	82
Difference	*29*	*18*	*9*	*10*
1980				
College or more	75	88	91	92
Some college	63	84	92	94
High school or less	44	71	78	78
Difference	*31*	*17*	*14*	*16*
1976				
College or more	71	91	90	94
Some college	63	77	86	87
High school or less	45	67	84	77
Difference	*26*	*24*	*6*	*17*
1972				
College or more	72	90	99	96
Some college	63	94	96	88
High school or less	56	78	84	86
Difference	*16*	*16*	*15*	*10*
1968				
College or more	72	89	92	82
Some college	63	87	93	93
High school or less	54	76	83	90
Difference	*18*	*13*	*10*	*3*
1964				
College or more	80	92	99	85
Some college	66	88	93	96
High school or less	60	80	83	83
Difference	*20*	*12*	*16*	*13*
1960				
College or more	74	86	86	100
Some college	68	89	95	89
High school or less	60	81	81	83
Difference	*14*	*8*	*14*	*17*

Source: The Gallup Poll.

Attitudes Toward Voting

Despite the decline in voting in recent years, most Americans continue to feel that voting is an effective way of influencing government activity. Eighty-four percent of the public subscribes to that view, up slightly from 77% in a 1976 Gallup Poll for ***Newsweek***. However, only 57% of people say that voting is ***very*** effective. People under 35 are considerably less likely than older people to see voting as a ***very*** effective way of influencing the way government is run.

An even stronger generational pattern is apparent in the public's feeling that voting is a civic duty. Ninety-one percent agree with that idea and 69% completely agree. And in a related response, 69% of Americans say they feel guilty when they don't get a chance to vote.

New voters and younger people generally feel less guilt about not voting and don't have the same sense of civic obligation. For example, among new voters, those 18-24, only 49% completely agree that voting is their civic duty. As with voting intentions, voter registration and interest in the election, belief that voting is a civic duty is extremely low among young people who have not attended college.

	Total	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
Effectiveness of making sure you vote in all elections							
Very effective	57	48	50	52	58	63	64
Fairly effective	27	34	34	31	28	20	19
Not too effective	10	10	10	10	10	11	9
Not at all effective	4	6	5	4	3	3	4
Don't know	2	2	1	3	1	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

	Total	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
I feel it is my duty as a citizen to always vote							
Agree	91	84	86	88	93	94	95
Completely	69	49	57	61	73	81	77
Disagree	8	15	12	11	7	5	4
Don't know	1	1	2	1	*	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Based on Q.23a and Q.55z)

Analysis of the survey indicates that a diminished sense of voting as a civic duty may play a larger role in the turnout problem than such factors as voter anger, public disinterest in politics and other often mentioned reasons for low turnout.

As shown in the table below, the sense of obligation to vote is twice as explanatory of how often people say they vote, as is any other single factor tested. The public's level of information about politics ranks second, feeling that voting behavior is an effective action ranked third, while interest in national affairs and feeling that elected officials don't care are much less important than other attitudes.

A sense of obligation to vote is more linked to turnout than other factors among each of the generations. However, political knowledgeability is more of an element in explaining the voting behavior of younger people, while feelings of empowerment is more crucial among middle-age people.

The Relative Influence of Each Factor In Explaining Self Reported Voting Behavior[8]

Based on Total Agreed:	*National*	*18-34*	*35-49*	*50+*
Feeling it's a citizen's duty to vote	44	41	46	41
Knowing which party controls Congress	21	20	14	14
Feeling voting is an effective influence on government	9	10	20	5
Being interested in national affairs	2	*	6	1
Feeling that elected officials don't care	1	1	4	9

(Based on Q.23a, 27f1, 28f1, 40c, 55z and aa)

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[8] Four independent multiple regression analyses were conducted one for each age group and one for the combined sample. Tabled figures are beta coefficients from these analyses. The R squared for the overall sample was .33, while it was .29 for 18-34 year olds, .43 for middle-aged people and .21 for those 50 & older.

Perceived Effectiveness of Political Behaviors

Compared to 1976 fewer Americans think that working in political campaigns or joining political parties is an effective way to influence what laws are passed or how the government is run. However more believe that staging protest demonstrations is effective than thought so in 1976.

Generally, people under 35 are less apt to see most political forms of activity as effective, but they are as likely as older people to think that staging demonstrations can influence the way the government is run and the laws that are passed.

	1976	*1992*
Make sure you vote in all elections		
Effective	77	84
Not Effective	20	14
Don't know	3	2
Total	100	100
Write Congressman or other political leader		
Effective	61	60
Not Effective	34	35
Don't know	5	5
Total	100	100
Work in political campaigns to get your preferred candidate elected		
Effective	72	66
Not Effective	23	23
Don't know	5	11
Total	100	100
Stage protest demonstrations		
Effective	28	45
Not Effective	66	49
Don't know	6	6
Total	100	100
Join your local political party		
Effective	64	56
Not Effective	29	33
Don't know	7	11
Total	100	100

(Based on Q.23)

Other forms of Political Participation

Americans under 35 write fewer letters to the elected officials, attend fewer public hearings or rallies and less often donate a dollar from their tax returns to finance election campaign funds. However, younger people are at least as likely as older people to have engaged in activist behaviors that are non-political. As many or more people under 35 as older people have participated in demonstrations, signed or circulated petitions, or written letters to the editor.

	Total	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
Written letter to elected official	36	23	27	32	41	42	40
Written letter to the editor	14	14	14	16	15	15	10
Signed or circulated a petition	53	52	51	58	62	52	34
Attended public hearing	34	26	27	30	42	41	28
Boycotted a company	21	18	21	30	29	16	9
Taken part in public demonstration	9	20	12	13	9	6	2
Attended political meeting or rally	26	20	20	22	30	31	22
Donate tax dollar to campaign fund	25	18	21	23	28	30	23

(Based on Q.51f2, 52f2 and 53f2)

MEDIA, POLITICS, AND THE GENERATIONS

Interest and Information Levels

A 1990 Times Mirror study of generational difference in news attentiveness and media use[9] concluded that the "new generation gap" was not one of politics or values, but one of information and attentiveness. The results of Times Mirror's News Interest Index surveys when contrasted to the findings of historical opinion polls found that people under 30 represented "a generation that knows less, and cares less" about what's going on in the larger world than previous generations of young people.

Surveys since then, including the current one, provide no reason to change these conclusions. Over the past few months interest in the election campaign, and most other national and international news subjects, has run consistently lower among younger people, especially people under 30 years of age. In an early May survey, the percentage of people saying they were following ***very closely*** news about the Presidential election ranged from 27% among 18-24's to 40% among people 65 years of age and older.

	Total	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
PAY VERY CLOSE ATTENTION TO:							
News about the Presidential election campaign (May, 1992)	32	27	23	28	31	37	40
The race for the Democratic Presidential nomination (March, 1992)	35	29	32	32	33	35	46
The race for the Republican Presidential nomination (March, 1992)	25	17	22	23	22	28	34

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[9] *The Age Of Indifference*, June 28, 1990, The Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press

Only about one in four people under the age of 35 know that the Democrats control both houses of Congress. Awareness of this basic fact about American government is only slightly greater (33%) among people aged 35-49, but it is considerably greater among people 50 years of age and older (48%). Tellingly, there is no generation gap in knowing that Murphy Brown is the fictional character who Dan Quayle criticized for glamorizing bearing children out of wedlock.

	Total	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-49	50-64	65+
INFORMATION ABOUT PUBLIC AFFAIRS							
Knows the Democrats have a majority in the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives	35	20	24	28	33	47	48
Knows Murphy Brown is the television show Dan Quayle criticized for glamorizing being an unwed mother	65	64	73	74	72	64	46

(Based on Q.27f1, 28f1 and 30f1)

Media Use

When asked to name up to two sources that they are relying on for election news, almost all Americans say they are turning to television (84%), half say they are relying on newspapers, one in five mention radio, and fewer than one in ten mention magazines. Looked at another way, the public divides about evenly between those who are relying exclusively on television for news about the campaign (40%), versus those who are relying on both media (43%) or on newspapers only (12%).

A majority of people under 35 rely solely on TV for campaign news. At the other end of the age scale, only about one in three people 50 and older say they rely on TV only while a solid majority are also getting news about the campaign from newspapers (54%).

With regard to television specifically, younger people are less likely than people 50 and older to say that they rely on network news for election coverage. However, CNN and local TV are campaign news sources for younger people as often as they for older people.

	Total	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGN NEWS SOURCES							
Television & newspaper	43	32	32	39	42	53	54
Television not newspapers	40	51	50	40	37	35	36
Newspaper not television	12	10	12	11	15	10	8

(Based on Q.31 and 32)

Times Mirror surveys have consistently shown that people who rely only on television for campaign news know less about the campaign than people who use newspapers to follow the election. In the current poll this is illustrated by the finding that only 25% of "TV exclusives" know that the Democrats control Congress, while 45% of those who read newspapers do.

Lack of knowledge about public issues is most acute among young people who rely on TV news only - just 17% knew which party controlled Congress, compared to 56% among people 50 & older who are reading newspapers to follow the campaign.

		18-34		*35-49*		*50+*	
	Total	*Only TV*	*Newspaper*	*Only TV*	*Newspaper*	*Only TV*	*Newspaper*
INFORMATION							
Knows the Democrats have a majority in the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives	35	17	27	23	38	30	56

(Based on Q.27f1 and 28f1)

The survey finds a generation gap in the audience composition of most media that emphasize hard news. The incidence of people reporting that they spent some time yesterday reading a newspaper or watching TV news increases steadily by age. However, the relationship of age to reading papers is somewhat stronger than the relationship of age to TV news viewership. The percentage of those 65 & older reading papers "yesterday" is about three-fold what it is among 18-24 year olds, while there is not even a two-fold difference for TV news.

	Total	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
YESTERDAY READERSHIP/ VIEWERSHIP							
Spent some time reading a newspaper yesterday	48	23	32	38	49	60	66
Spent some time watching TV news programs yesterday	58	45	52	49	52	69	76

(Based on Q.41 and 43)

Similarly the poll finds a generational pattern to regular readership or viewing of: television news magazine shows, Sunday morning TV shows, the MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour, and C-SPAN.

The survey finds young people and older people equally likely to say they are part of the regular audience of infotainment shows, such as ***Entertainment Tonight***, and ***A Current Affair***. Younger people more often than people 50 & older report that they read personality magazines and they are as likely as their elders to say they read tabloids, such as the ***National Enquirer*** or the ***Star***.

Similarly, the poll finds as many people under 35 reporting that they have read a book in the past six months or are currently reading one, as it finds among older people.

CNN, the newsmagazines and NPR are media that focus on hard news that do not in turn have older audiences.

REGULAR VIEWERSHIP	*Total*	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
Regularly watch news magazine shows such as 60 Minutes or 20/20	46	30	33	40	44	56	63
Regularly watch Sunday morning news shows such as Meet The Press, Face The Nation or This Week With David Brinkley	15	6	9	12	10	19	28
Regularly watch MacNeil-Lehrer	6	2	2	4	5	8	15
Regularly watch C-SPAN	6	4	3	2	4	8	11
Regularly watch Entertainment Tonight	11	13	12	13	10	12	8
Regularly watch A Current Affair	19	25	20	16	16	24	18
Regularly watch CNN	30	25	31	24	30	33	34
Regularly listen to programs on National Public Radio such as Morning Edition or All Things Considered	8	6	7	7	10	8	6

(Based on Q.47f1)

REGULAR READERSHIP	*Total*	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
Regularly read personality magazines such as People or US	8	10	8	10	10	6	5
Regularly read The National Enquirer, The Sun or The Star	5	5	4	5	4	8	6
Regularly read news magazines such as Time, U.S. News & World Report or Newsweek	20	18	21	20	20	20	19

(Based on Q.46f2a, b and e)

Real Time TV News

The advent of real time TV has created universal images of recent news events that in the past have only been parallelled by such things as the Kennedy assassinations, Nixon's resignation and Neil Armstrong's moon walk. Virtually all Americans can recall watching the San Francisco earthquake, Gulf War, the fall of the Berlin Wall and most recently, the LA riots on TV.

Real time television news may be changing the lifespan of the political impact of national and international events. As recently as November the public named the Gulf War as the event that was most influencing its politics. The current poll finds that the LA riots have replaced the Gulf War as the news event that Americans say has had the most effect on the way they think about politics and political issues.

Younger people continue to say that the Gulf War has had an important effect on them more often than do people 35 and older. However, the LA disturbances are regarded as the most influential event even among young people.

NEWS EVENTS SEEN IN REAL TIME

EVENTS THAT HAD THE MOST EFFECT ON POLITICAL VIEWS[10]	*Total*	*18-24*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-49*	*50-64*	*65+*
Riots last month in Los Angeles	34	54	45	41	28	23	26
The war in the Gulf	22	29	33	27	19	22	9
John Kennedy's funeral	8	0	0	0	10	16	12
The fall of the Berlin Wall	6	9	7	10	5	4	3
Richard Nixon's resignation	4	0	0	4	7	3	3
Bobby Kennedy's assassination	3	0	0	0	6	5	5

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[10] Questions about John Kennedy's funeral were asked only of respondents 40 years of age and older, Richard Nixon's resignation was asked of respondents 30 years of age and older, Tet Offensive in Vietnam and Bobby Kennedy's assassination were asked of respondents 35 years of age and older and the Iran Contra hearings in Congress was asked of respondents 25 years of age and older.

	Total	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-49	50-64	65+
Massacre in Tiananmen Square	3	3	6	4	3	2	2
Iran Contra hearings in Congress	2	0	5	4	3	2	1
Tet Offensive in Vietnam	2	0	0	0	4	1	2

(Based on Q.37)

Attitudes Toward Political Commercials

Over the past five years the number of people who say they first learn about candidates through TV advertisements has grown steadily. The Times Mirror surveys also find an increasing number of people saying that they like to have a picture of candidate in mind when they go out to vote.

	1987	1990	1992
TOTAL AGREE			
I often don't become aware of political candidates until I see their advertising on television	52	62	62
I get some sense of what a candidate is like through his or her TV commercials	57	58	54
I like to have a picture of a candidate in my mind when I go vote for him or her	70	74	76

(Based on Q.56f2)

The poll finds more Americans in 1992 than in previous surveys endorsing news reports over TV commercials as a way of learning about political candidates.

	1987	1990	1992
Gives a better idea of what a candidate is like personally:			
News reports	67	65	74
Candidates' TV Commercials	24	26	22
Don't know	9	9	4
Total	100	100	100

(Based on Q.58f2)

THE VALUES, VOTING BEHAVIOR AND CIVIC ATTITUDES OF CANDIDATE SUPPORT GROUPS

Value Profiles

The supporters of the three presidential candidates have distinctive attitudinal profiles. In particular, the values of independent candidate Ross Perot's backers do not lend themselves to easy partisan or ideological categorization.

In many ways, Perot backers are more centrist than those who favor Bush or Clinton, but to some extent they also seem more classically libertarian. They are clearly more critical of the political system and the federal bureaucracy than people inclined to support Bush or Clinton. But, they also appear to be quite tolerant and supportive of personal freedoms.

Unlike Bush's traditional Republican constituency, Perot supporters do not necessarily combine anti-bureaucratic attitudes with a pro-business stance. Nor do they combine support for personal freedoms with such support for distinctly pro-social justice programs, as do many of Clinton's Democratic supporters.

The tone of Perot's support reflects the fact that he draws heavily from ***Disaffected*** voters who are angry with the system and also from ***Seculars*** who combine cynicism about politics with tolerant social views. However the centrism in the values of Perot supporters is evidence of his significant appeal to most groups save socially conservative ***Moralist Republicans*** and hard pressed ***Pocketbook Democrats***.

On most political, social and economic dimensions, the outlook of Perot supporters falls between those of Bush and Clinton supporters. For example, Perot backers are less militaristic than Bush supporters, but are somewhat more inclined to say they support the use of military force than people disposed to Bill Clinton.

George Bush's adherents are most inclined to say that they are satisfied with their financial situation or that they don't have trouble making ends meet each month. Clinton supporters are subject to the most financial pressure, while people who say they would like to see Perot elected, if the election were held today, fall mid-way between the two extremes.

Perot supporters show less support for social justice programs and efforts to achieve equal opportunity for minority groups than do Clinton supporters, but are more in favor of social welfare and equal opportunity programs than are probable Bush supporters.

Similarly, white supporters of the independent candidate are more likely to feel that the progress of African Americans has been stymied in recent years, than are whites who favor the President's re-election. But, white Perot backers are considerably less likely to hold this view than are white Clinton backers.

Perot supporters are distinguished from the two other candidate support groups by the degree to which they feel that people don't have any say in government, and feel that elected officials lose touch with the people.

Perot's people are also more apt than those who back either of the other candidates to think that the Congress is having a bad influence on the way things are going in this country and to feel that way about local and state governments, as well as the courts.

Clinton supporters come closer to Perot supporters in their degree of estrangement from politics and politicians than do supporters of the President. A majority of people who favor the President's re-election think that the government is run for the benefit of the people, while majorities of Perot and Clinton backers disagree.

The survey finds Clinton supporters somewhat more personally dispirited than those who back Bush *or* Perot. More of the Democratic candidate's adherents feel that hard work doesn't guarantee success in life and that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

Perot supporters express even more aversion to the bureaucracy and inefficiencies of government, than do Bush's Republican backers. They are more likely than President Bush's probable supporters to feel that things run by the government are usually inefficient and wasteful and that dealing with a federal government agency is generally not worth the trouble.

Perot supporters feel that government regulation of business does more harm than good more often than do the Bush or Clinton candidate support groups. However, the independent candidate's constituency is as suspicious of the power and profits of big companies as are Bill Clinton's largely Democratic adherents. Bush supporters, on the other hand have much more favorable opinions of business than those of either of the other candidates.

Perot's supporters are strong proponents of personal freedoms. A majority of his backers oppose banning books that contain *"dangerous ideas"* from school libraries, contrary to the position held by a clear majority of people who say they support Bush or Clinton. Along with Clinton supporters, the independent candidate's voter constituency stands opposed to allowing school boards to fire homosexual teachers - a measure that Bush boosters favor.

	Bush	*Clinton*	*Perot*
MILITARISM			
The best way to ensure peace is through military strength (Q.55ii)			
Agree	61	50	54
Disagree	37	49	43
Don't know	2	1	3
Total	100	100	100
PERSONAL FINANCIAL PRESSURE			
I'm pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for me financially (Q.55y)			
Agree	65	52	58
Completely	18	16	15
Disagree	34	46	42
Don't know	1	2	*
Total	100	100	100
WELFARISM			
The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep (Q.50z)			
Agree	57	77	65
Completely	21	46	31
Disagree	40	21	33
Don't know	3	2	2
Total	100	100	100
RACIAL TOLERANCE/BASED ON WHITES			
In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country (Q.55dd)			
Agree	46	67	57
POLITICAL ALIENATION			
People like me don't have any say about what the government does (Q.40a)			
Agree	45	51	58
Disagree	53	47	42
Don't know	2	2	*
Total	100	100	100

	Bush	*Clinton*	*Perot*
Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly (Q.40b)			
Agree	78	85	88
Completely	24	37	42
Disagree	20	14	11
Don't know	2	1	1
Total	100	100	100
INFLUENCE (Based on Q.54f1d, e and m)			
Congress			
Good influence	44	46	29
Bad influence	45	38	62
Neither	2	2	2
Both	4	4	3
No opinion	5	10	4
Total	100	100	100
Local & State Governments			
Good influence	70	61	54
Bad influence	19	29	35
Neither	1	*	1
Both	6	5	7
No opinion	4	5	3
Total	100	100	100
Courts			
Good influence	62	50	44
Bad influence	26	35	47
Neither	1	1	1
Both	5	6	4
No opinion	6	8	4
Total	100	100	100
POLITICAL ALIENATION			
The government is really run for the benefit of all the people (Q.40m)			
Agree	60	40	39
Disagree	38	59	61
Don't know	2	1	*
Total	100	100	100

	Bush	*Clinton*	*Perot*
INDIVIDUAL ALIENATION			
Hard work offers little guarantee of success (Q.40f)			
Agree	26	40	34
Disagree	72	58	64
Completely	30	23	26
Don't know	2	2	2
Total	100	100	100
BUREAUCRACY			
When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful (Q.40j)			
Agree	65	66	76
Completely	24	25	34
Disagree	33	32	23
Don't know	2	2	1
Total	100	100	100
Dealing with a federal government agency is often not worth the trouble (Q.40r)			
Agree	56	66	73
Completely	15	24	24
Disagree	37	29	25
Don't know	7	5	2
Total	100	100	100
Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good (Q.40i)			
Agree	59	60	65
Completely	15	19	23
Disagree	34	36	31
Don't know	7	4	4
Total	100	100	100

	Bush	Clinton	Perot
BUSINESS ATTITUDES			
There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies (Q.40o)			
Agree	68	83	80
Completely	18	37	34
Disagree	29	15	18
Don't know	3	2	2
Total	100	100	100
Business corporations make too much profit (Q.40p)			
Agree	55	66	60
Completely	16	28	20
Disagree	39	28	35
Don't know	6	6	5
Total	100	100	100

	Bush	Clinton	Perot
TOLERANCE & PERSONAL FREEDOMS	(Based on Q.55f and g)		
School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals			
Agree	47	37	39
Disagree	49	58	55
Don't know	4	5	6
Total	100	100	100
Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries			
Agree	54	53	43
Disagree	43	46	55
Don't know	3	1	2
Total	100	100	100

Voting Behavior and Civic Attitudes

Despite their estrangement from the political system and animosity toward the status quo, Perot supporters are as likely as supporters of the other candidates to say they feel an obligation to vote, to say they are interested in national affairs, to feel that what happens in Washington is important and to say they vote regularly.

Americans who support Ross Perot's independent candidacy represent a more vocal segment of the electorate than those who say they now back Bush or Clinton. Comparatively, a greater percentage of them say they have written a letter to an editor or an elected official or signed or circulated a petition within the past year.

Perot supporters are much more politically energized than those who back the other candidates, especially those who favor George Bush. Six in ten Perot supporters say they have given a lot of thought to the coming election, compared to only five in ten for those who back Bush or Clinton.

	Bush	Clinton	Perot
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION			
I feel it's my duty as a citizen to always vote			
Agree	91	92	90
Completely	67	68	69
Disagree	8	7	9
Don't know	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100
I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs			
Agree	92	90	93
Completely	49	50	54
Disagree	7	10	6
Don't know	1	*	1
Total	100	100	100

(Based on Q.55z and aa)

	Bush	Clinton	Perot
HOW OFTEN VOTES			
Always	43	49	47
Nearly always	31	22	25
Part of the time	7	12	10
Seldom	12	10	13
Other	1	1	1
Never vote	5	5	4
Don't know/no answer	1	1	0
	100	100	100

(Based on Q.19)

	Bush	*Clinton*	*Perot*
Written a letter to an elected official within the last year	34	32	39
Written a letter to the editor within the last year	11	11	19
Signed or circulated a petition within the last year	47	52	56
Attended a public hearing within the last year	36	30	38

(Based on Q.51f2a, b, c and d)

AMOUNT OF THOUGHT GIVEN TO THE COMING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION			
Quite a lot	50	51	63
Some	7	7	5
Little	41	40	29
None/Can't say	2	2	3
Total	100	100	100

(Based on Q. 5)

Clinton's backers appear to have a lower likelihood of turning out in November than Perot supporters.

	Bush	*Clinton*	*Perot*
High probability voter	46	44	49
Low probability voter	54	56	51
Total	100	100	100
Sample size	(777)	(672)	(926)

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among a nationally representative sample of 3,517 adults 18 years of age or older, during the period of May 28 - June 10, 1992. The survey oversampled African-Americans and young people aged 18 to 34. These oversamples were included to ensure a sufficient number of interviews to allow separate analysis of these subpopulations.

The sample of telephone numbers was randomly selected in two parts: a national sample of random digit telephone numbers designed to produce a representative sample of the general population, and a national sample of random digit and listed telephone numbers designed to produce a representative sample of the black population living in areas with significant black population. The oversample of young people was obtained by screening a random digit telephone sample for people aged 18 to 34.

The general population sample was a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county was proportional to that county's share of telephone numbers in the state. Estimates of the number of telephone households within each county are derived from 1990 Census data on residential telephone incidence.

For the African-American supplemental sample telephone numbers were randomly selected from among the listed telephone numbers that are associated with households in census tracts that were at least 30% Black in the 1990 census. The random component of the black sample was constructed by adding "1" to listed telephone numbers selected in identical fashion to the numbers selected for the listed component. Telephone numbers selected as part of the black supplemental sample were screened to determine their eligibility by race. By design the sampling procedures for the supplemental sample of blacks underrepresents blacks living in geographic areas that do not contain concentrations of blacks and blacks living in households with unlisted telephone numbers. The demographic weighting procedures described below mitigate, to a large degree, these limitations of the sample design.

At least four attempts were made to contact each telephone number in the sample. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a respondent. In addition, all interview breakoffs and refusals were recontacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known sources of biases in survey derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. For example, young men are more difficult than other adults to reach at home by telephone and people with relatively low educational attainment are less likely than others to agree to participate in telephone surveys.

A more important source of bias in survey estimates for this survey is the explicit oversampling that was done to increase the representation of blacks and young people. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data for this survey are weighted in analysis.

The demographic weighting parameters for this study were derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau Annual Demographic File (from the March 1991 Current Population Survey). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of the total adult population of the continental U.S. living in households with telephones and for the adult black population of the continental U.S. living in households with telephones. These population parameters were compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The black component of the survey was weighted to bring the demographic characteristics of the black sample into alignment with the demographic characteristics of the national adult black population. The demographic distributions used in the weighting included sex by age, sex by education, age by education, race, region, and residence in metropolitan versus non-metropolitan areas. Due to the design of the black oversample, blacks living in less densely populated areas (in terms of black population) were underrepresented. This underrepresentation was corrected with the metropolitan component of the weighting scheme. In addition, the black sample and the sample of people 18 to 34 years of age were weighted to their correct proportion in the total sample of adults.

For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points. For results based on the black sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 6 percentage points.

A split ballot technique was used to test Norman Schwartzkopf's appeal versus Ross Perot's. A random subset of 2512 respondents were questioned about Perot as a third party candidate while a random subset of 1005 were asked about Schwartzkopf.

A second independent nationwide telephone survey was conducted among 1004 adults 18 years of age and older during the period June 5-9, 1992 as a means of testing an alternative voting intentions method.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE TIMES MIRROR TYPOLOGY

In 1987 Times Mirror developed a unique voter classification scheme that divided the electorate on the basis of political values, party identification and measures of political participation. Since its inception Times Mirror has conducted numerous nationwide surveys using this political typology, the most recent of which was reported in ***THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS & POLITICS - 1990***. The typology was developed for administration by personal interview in that it requires about 15 minutes of interviewing time to ask the full battery of questions.

Over the past year the ***Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press*** has developed a modified form of the Times Mirror Typology that is suitable for telephone interviewing in that it requires many fewer questions. It also divides the public into fewer groups (9 vs. 11) and therefore can be used with more limited sample size surveys. It is our intention to utilize the modified typology scheme on each of our pre-election surveys in 1992. While this form of the typology does not offer the full analytical richness of the original scheme, we think it continues to be an important and highly useful way of looking at the electorate.

The modified typology is based on the important concepts about the homogeneity of various voting groups that we uncovered in our earlier research.

There are two core Republican groups:
Enterprisers: Enterprisers are fiscal conservatives who hold positive attitudes toward business and are anti-welfarist. They are affluent, well-educated and well-informed. Enterprisers are much less likely than other Americans to agree with the popular notion that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer (43% vs. 81%). Their pro-business stance leads them to differ with most Americans on the idea that too much power is concentrated in the hands of big companies. While 82% of other Americans feel that this is true, only 48% of Enterprisers agree. Enterprisers are also less likely to completely agree that society should make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity (55% vs. 41%).

Moralists: Moralists are highly religious, socially conservative and show low levels of concern for personal freedoms. They are less affluent, older, and many live in the South. A vast majority of Moralists agree that books with dangerous ideas should be banned from public schools, which sets them firmly to the right of the rest of the public on the issue of censorship (89% vs. 39%).

There are three core Democratic groups:

Sixties Democrats: Sixties Democrats are strong believers in peace and social justice. More than any other segment of the population, they disagree with the idea that the best way to preserve peace is through military strength (88% vs. 44%). And two-thirds (65%) of Sixties Democrats completely agree that society should guarantee everyone an equal opportunity. This is a heavily female, middle class, middle-aged group that supports most of the policy positions of the national Democratic party.

New Dealers: New Dealers are older Democrats who experience little financial pressure and are more socially conservative than the national Democratic Party. Drawn heavily from the South, many of these old-time Democrats have party roots that go back to Roosevelt. Despite the end of the Cold War, New Dealers still universally agree that the best way to insure peace is through military strength (96%[11]).

Pocketbook Democrats: Pocketbook Dems overwhelmingly agree that they don't have enough money to make ends meet (98%). They are very concerned with social justice, and they believe that government should take an active role in the solution of the socio-economic problems that plague them. One-third of Pocketbook Dems are minorities (32%), and many have less than a high school education.

There are three typology groups that are basically Independent:

Seculars: Seculars lean to the Democratic party, but some identify more closely with the GOP on certain issues. They are strongly supportive of personal freedoms. Seculars are well-informed, relatively affluent, and more often found on the East and West coasts. Their defining characteristic is an almost total lack of religious conviction. While 87% of the rest of the public says that prayer is an important part of their daily life, only one in ten (12%) Seculars hold this view. Their support for personal freedoms is best reflected in their feelings about censorship: 97% disagree with banning books containing dangerous ideas from public school libraries, compared with 48% of other Americans.

Two of the Independent groups lean to the Republican party:

Disaffecteds: Disaffecteds are personally alienated, financially pressured and deeply skeptical of politicians. This middle-aged, lower-middle income group contains many blue collar workers. Disaffecteds are nearly twice as likely as others to agree that hard work offers little guarantee of success (69% vs. 36%). Their political distrust is such that three-quarters (77%) disagree that elected officials care what people like them think.

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[11] Based on combined survey results from November 1991 and January 1992.

Upbeats: Upbeats are also independents who lean to the GOP, but their attitudinal profile is almost the opposite of Disaffecteds. Upbeats are primarily young people who tend to be uncritical of government and other institutions. They also have American Exceptionalist values: 88% of Upbeats agree that Americans can always solve their problems, while only 55% of others agree.

Finally, there is one typology group that is by definition apolitical:

Bystanders: Bystanders have an almost total lack of interest in politics and public affairs. This urban, lower socio-economic group contains many young singles. Forty-six percent of Bystanders say they seldom vote.

The table below shows the percentage of the survey respondents in each typology group for this survey.

	PERCENT
Enterprisers	10
Moralists	14
Upbeats	12
Disaffecteds	13
Bystanders/Other	16
Seculars	8
60's Democrats	6
New Dealers	5
Pocketbook Dems.	16

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
21ST CENTURY VOTER
MAY 28 - JUNE 10, 1992
N=3,517

SEX: 1[ ]Male 2[ ]Female

INTERVIEWER'S NAME: ____________

TIME STARTED: ____________

INTERVIEWER'S I.D.: ____________

TIME FINISHED: ____________

PAGE NUMBER: ____________

LENGTH: ____________

REPLICATE NUMBER: ____________

REGION:
1 East
2 Midwest
3 South
4 West

STRATUM:
1 Stratum One
2 Stratum Two
3 Remainder

DATE: ____________

INTRODUCTION: Hello, we are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

		NEWS INTEREST INDEX							
		May 1992	March 1992	Feb 1992	Jan 1992	Nov 1991	Oct 1991	July 1991	May 1991
32	Approve	37	38	39	46	55	61	67	77
57	Disapprove	51	52	53	43	33	28	23	16
11	Don't know	12	10	8	11	12	11	10	7
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.2 Do you happen to read any daily newspaper or newspapers regularly?

		July 1991	May 1991	Jan 1991	Nov 1990	Oct 1990	July 1990	May 1990
75	Yes	73	70	72	74	72	71	71
25	No	27	30	27	26	28	29	29
*	Don't know	*	*	1	0	0	0	0
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.3 Do you happen to watch any TV news programs regularly, or not?

		July 1991	May 1991	Jan 1991	Nov 1990	Oct 1990	July 1990	May 1990
85	Yes	84	84	88	80	81	81	80
15	No	16	16	12	20	19	19	20
*	Don't know	*	*	*	*	0	0	0
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.4 Do you listen to the news on the radio regularly or not?

		July 1991	May 1991	Jan 1991	Nov 1990	Oct 1990	July 1990	May 1990
54	Yes	53	53	55	55	54	55	56
46	No	47	47	45	45	46	45	44
*	Don't know	*	*	*	*	0	0	*
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.5 How much thought have you given to the coming Presidential election quite a lot or only a little?

55	Quite a lot
6	Some (VOL)
36	Little
2	None
1	Can't say
100	

Q.6 Suppose the 1992 Presidential election were being held today. If George Bush were the Republican candidate and Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton were the Democratic candidate who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q.6 ASK:

Q.7 As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican or do you lean more to Bill Clinton the Democrat?

		May 1992	Mar 1992
46	George Bush - with leaners	46	50
41	Bill Clinton - with leaners	43	43
13	Other/Undecided	11	7
100		100	100
			(557)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' GEORGE BUSH OR '2' BILL CLINTON IN Q.6 ASK:

Q.8 Do you support (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.6) strongly or only moderately?

Strength of support

		May 1992	Mar 1992
46	George Bush	46	50
13	Strongly	15	19
33	Only moderately	31	31
41	Bill Clinton	43	43
9	Strongly	10	9
32	Only moderately	33	34
13	Other/undecided	11	7
100		100	100
			(557)

ASK ALL:
FORM 1

Q.9f1 And suppose the candidates were George Bush, the Republican candidate, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, the Democratic candidate, and Ross Perot was the Independent candidate, who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '4' OTHER OR '5' UNDECIDED IN Q.9f1 ASK:
FORM 1

Q.10f1 As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or do you lean toward Ross Perot, the Independent?

		May 1992	Form 2[12] Asked Without 2 Way First
31	George Bush - with leaners	33	33
27	Bill Clinton - with leaners	30	24
36	Ross Perot - with leaners	30	31
6	Other/Undecided	7	12
100		100	100

ASK ALL:
FORM 2

Q.9f2 And suppose the candidates were George Bush, the Republican candidate, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, the Democratic candidate, and Former Army General Norman Schwartzkopf was the Independent candidate, who would you like to see win?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '4' OTHER OR '5' UNDECIDED IN Q.9f2 ASK:
FORM 2

Q.10F2 As of today, do you lean more to George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or do you lean toward Former Army General Norman Schwartzkopf as the Independent candidate?

35	George Bush - with leaners
27	Bill Clinton - with leaners
29	Norman Schwartzkopf - with leaners
9	Other/Undecided
100	

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[12] Separate National Survey - field dates June 5-9, 1992.

ASK ALL:

Q.11 What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year? Would you say that you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the choices?

		May[13] 1992	Mar 1992
6	Very satisfied	26	28
31	Fairly satisfied		
35	Not too satisfied	71	66
26	Not at all satisfied		
2	Can't say	3	6
100		100	100

---

[13] In May and March the question was asked, "What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year? Would you say that you are satisfied with the choices or not satisfied with the choices?

Q.12 Why do you feel that way?

9	Candidates not well qualified
8	Lack of integrity/can't be trusted
8	Don't represent me/out of touch
7	Negative opinion of Bush
6	No differentiation/no real change
6	Need change/dissatisfied with how things are going
6	Negative opinion of Clinton
6	Not addressing issues
4	Positive opinion of Perot
4	General negative both parties
4	Good candidates did not run/wanted others
4	Dissatisfied with positions on economy
4	No leadership/strength/stature
3	Clinton scandals/character
3	Should pay more attention to national agenda
3	Positive opinion of Bush
3	Things going well/shouldn't change
3	Positive opinion of Clinton
14	Other
14	Don't know/no answer

Q.13 These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register. Are you now registered to vote in your precinct or election district or haven't you been able to register so far?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN Q.13 ASK:

Q.14 Are you absolutely certain that you are registered to vote or is there a chance that your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

76	Yes, registered	
73	Absolutely sure	
3	Chance	
23	No	GO TO Q.15
1	Not sure/Don't know	
100		

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '2' NO OR '3' NOT SURE IN Q.13 OR '2' CHANCE OR '3' NOT SURE IN Q.14 ASK:

Q.15 Do you plan to register to vote or is there a chance that you may not register?

Q.16 Have you ever, at any time, been registered to vote, or haven't you ever had the chance to register?

27	Not registered
11	Never been
16	Have been in the past
*	Not sure if ever
17	Plan to register
9	Chance may not
1	Can't say/Undecided

Q.17 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?

Q.18 How certain are you that you will vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

89	Yes
75	Absolutely certain
12	Fairly certain
2	Not certain
7	No
1	Absolutely certain
1	Fairly certain
5	Not certain
4	Can't say
100	

Q.19 How often would you say you vote; always, nearly always, part of the time, or seldom?

		May 1992	Nov 1991	May 1990	Jan 1989	Jan 1988	May 1987
47	Always	41	38	33	45	39	34
26	Nearly always	32	37	35	30	33	37
10	Part of the time	13	13	12	10	12	11
11	Seldom	11	9	10	8	8	6
1	**(DO NOT READ)** Other	*	0	1	1	1	2
5	**(DO NOT READ)** Never vote	3	3	8	6	6	9
*	Don't know/no answer	*	*	1	*	1	1
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED ANYTHING OTHER THAN '10' ALWAYS IN Q.19 ASK:

Q.20 I am going to read some reasons why some people have told us they don't always vote. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)** (ROTATE)

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	(VOL) Don't Know
a. I sometimes feel I don't know enough about the candidates to vote	21	42	22	14	1=100
b. I sometimes feel it doesn't matter that much who gets elected	12	23	26	38	1=100
c. It's complicated to register to vote where I live	4	8	29	56	3=100
d. It's difficult for me to get out to the polls to vote	8	17	29	44	2=100
e. I sometimes don't like any of the candidates	24	41	22	12	1=100
f. I don't want to involve myself with politics	7	17	28	46	2=100

Q.21 Would you like a son or daughter or other member of your family to go into politics as a career?

		Newsweek 1976
27	Yes	34
63	No	63
10	Don't know	3
100		100

Q.22 Are you more interested or less interested in politics this year than you were in 1988?

		TM March 1992	Newsweek 1980	Newsweek 1976
55	More	57	56	42
24	Less	27	17	29
19	Same (VOL)	14	24	28
2	Can't say	2	3	1
100		100	100	100

Q.23 Id like your opinion about the effectiveness of different ways of trying to influence the way the government is run and influence which laws are passed.

How effective is it to ...(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM BELOW)

	Very Effective	Fairly Effective	Not too Effective	Not at all Effective	DK
a. Make sure you vote in all elections	57	27	10	4	2=100
Newsweek, 1976	38	39	16	4	3=100
b. Write your Congressman or other political leaders	26	35	23	11	5=100
Newsweek, 1976	19	42	27	7	5=100
c. Work in political campaigns to get your preferred candidate elected	26	40	16	7	11=100
Newsweek, 1976	22	50	17	6	5=100
d. Stage protest demonstrations	13	32	30	19	6=100
Newsweek, 1976	6	22	34	32	6=100
e. Join your local political party	21	35	23	10	11=100
Newsweek, 1976	17	46	21	9	7=100

Q.24 Some people feel that what this country needs is some really strong leadership that would try to solve problems directly without worrying how Congress and the Supreme Court might feel. Others think that such strong leadership might be dangerous. What do you think?

		Newsweek 1976
63	Need strong leadership	49
27	Strong leadership might be dangerous	44
10	Don't know	7
100		100

Q.25 Suppose there was place on the ballot where you could refuse to vote for any of the candidates - a vote of no confidence in all of the candidates running for office? How likely is it that you would vote that way? **(READ LIST)**

		Newsweek 1976
24	Very likely	21
30	Possibly likely	32
43	Not at all likely	41
3	**(DO NOT READ)** Don't know	6
100		100

Q.26 In your opinion, does it really make much difference who is elected President?

		Newsweek 1976
80	Yes	80
18	No	18
2	Don't know	2
100		100

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT SOME THINGS THAT HAVE BEEN IN THE NEWS - NOT EVERYONE WILL HAVE HEARD ABOUT THEM

FORM 1
Q.27f1 Do you happen to know which political party has a majority in the U.S. Senate? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

17 Republican

52 Democrat

31 Can't say
100

FORM 1
Q.28f1 Do you happen to know which political party has a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

12 Republican

44 Democrat

44 Can't say
100

FORM 1
Q.29f1 Do you happen to know the name of the former communist country in which there has been a prolonged civil war between the various republics? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

21 Yugoslavia

39 Other answer

40 Not sure
100

FORM 1
Q.30f1 Do you happen to know the name of the television show that Dan Quayle criticized for glamorizing being an unwed mother? **(DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)**

65 Murphy Brown

3 Other answer

32 Not sure
100

ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT...

Q.31 How have you been getting most of your news about the Presidential election campaign? From television, from newspapers, from radio or from magazines? **(ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS)**

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' TELEVISION IN Q.31 ASK:

Q.32 Do you get most of your news about the presidential campaign from network tv news, from local tv news, or from CNN? **(ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS)**

			May 1992	Mar 1992	Feb 1992
84		Television	86	83	80
	50	Network	46	41	40
	38	Local	40	32	37
	34	CNN	34	30	29
	2	**(DO NOT READ)** Other	4	2	2
	1	Can't say	1	2	1
	125*		125*	107*	109*
55		Newspapers	51	48	49
18		Radio	17	14	18
7		Magazines	6	4	4
4		Other	3	3	3
*		Can't say	1	*	1
168**			164**	152**	155**

***Total exceeds the % who mentioned tv due to multiple responses**
****Total exceeds 100% due to multiple responses**

Q.33 What's the best way to get the latest news about important events occurring in this country - to read a newspaper or to watch the news on tv?

20	Newspaper
72	TV
7	Both/Neither (VOL)
1	Can't say
100	

Q.34 What's the best way to learn why these events are occurring - by reading about them in the newspaper or watching the news on tv?

44	Newspaper
44	TV
10	Both/Neither (VOL)
2	Can't say
100	

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT..

Q.35 What is your age

13	Under 25
10	25-29
13	30-34
11	35-39
53	40 or older
*	Refused
100	

Q.36 As I read from a list of events that have occurred in the past, please tell me whether or not you can clearly recall watching them on television at about the time they happened. Only tell me "yes" if you actually remember watching the event on TV at about the time it happened.

Do you remember watching [EVENT] on TV at about the time it happened?

Q.37 Of all the things I have mentioned, which one event has had the greatest impact on how you think about politics and political issues?

Q.38 Of all the things I mentioned, which one event most moved you or touched you emotionally?

	--Q.36--		--Q.37--	--Q.38--
	Yes	No/ DK	Greatest Impact	Biggest Emotional Effect
IF 40 OR OLDER				
a. John Kennedy's funeral	93	7	8	18
b. Martin Luther King's 1963 march on Washington	72	28	1	1
IF 35 OR OLDER				
c. Federal troops being sent into Detroit in 1967 to quell the riots	41	59	*	*
d. The Tet Offensive in Vietnam	61	39	2	1
e. Lyndon Johnson's speech announcing that he would not stand for re-election	58	42	*	*
f. Bobby Kennedy's assassination	90	10	3	5
g. The riots at the 1968 Democratic convention	56	44	*	*
h. The concert at Woodstock	36	64	*	*
i. The first manned landing on the moon	94	6	*	2

CONTINUED...

	--Q.36--		--Q.37--	--Q.38--
	Yes	No/ DK	Greatest Impact	Biggest Emotional Effect
IF 30 & OLDER				
j. Richard Nixon's resignation	86	14	4	*
k. The Iranian take over of the American Embassy in Teheran	75	25	*	1
IF 25 & OLDER ASK				
l. The 1984 Olympic in Los Angeles	59	41	*	*
m. The Iran Contra hearings in Congress	68	32	2	*
n. The explosion of the space shuttle Challenger	93	7	1	13
ASK ALL				
p. The San Francisco Earthquake	85	15	*	3
q. The massacre in Tiananmen Square	62	38	3	4
r. The fall of the Berlin Wall	86	14	6	5
s. The war in the Gulf	97	3	22	16
t. The riots last month in Los Angeles	95	5	34	26
Don't know/No answer/None			14	5
			100	100

Q.39 I'd like your opinion of some people. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who I name. First, would you describe your opinion of (ITEM) as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable? (ROTATE)

	Very Favor-able	Mostly Favor-able	Mostly Unfavor-able	Very Unfavor-able	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
a. George Bush	13	38	29	18	0	2=100
May, 1992	13	42	25	17	0	3=100
March, 1992	18	45	23	13	0	1=100
February, 1992	26	38	20	14	0	2=100
January, 1992	20	43	22	13	0	2=100
November, 1991	25	46	17	9	0	3=100
May, 1990	24	52	15	7	0	2=100
January, 1989	24	54	9	4		9=100
*October, 1988	23	35	20	17		5=100
*September, 1988	19	40	20	17		4=100
*August, 1988	25	40	18	12		5=100
May, 1988	11	40	25	17		7=100
January, 1988	11	41	26	13		9=100
September, 1987	18	51	19	8		4=100
May, 1987	11	56	19	7		7=100
b. Bill Clinton	10	36	33	14	1	6=100
May, 1992	11	42	32	10	*	5=100
March, 1992	10	43	29	11	1	6=100
February, 1992	15	44	24	7	2	8=100
January, 1992	9	28	11	4	27	21=100
November, 1991	5	25	8	2	39	21=100
c. Ross Perot	18	35	18	8	5	16=100
May,1992	11	39	20	7	2	21=100
March, 1992	11	18	15	6	29	21=100
d. Dan Quayle	7	26	34	27	1	5=100
November, 1991	9	40	28	15	1	7=100
May, 1990	6	41	24	15	4	10=100
*October, 1988	10	33	21	24	*	12=100
*September, 1988	9	32	17	15	2	25=100
*August, 1988	12	38	19	9	2	20=100
e. Norman Schwartzkopf	41	33	9	4	5	8=100
March, 1991	62	22	2	11	5	8=100

CONTINUED....

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
f. Bill Bradley	8	27	17	6	22	20=100
g. Jack Kemp	9	26	21	5	18	21=100
h. Colin Powell	30	35	11	4	10	10=100
March, 1991	51	28	2	1	7	11=100

***Based on registered voters**

DO NOT ROTATE ITEMS:

Q.40 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)**

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	(VOL) Don't Know
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does	14	36	32	17	1=100
b. Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly	35	49	12	3	1=100
c. Most elected officials care what people like me think	5	31	46	16	2=100
e. Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control	11	27	38	21	3=100
f. Hard work offers little guarantee of success	11	21	40	26	2=100
f1. I admire people who get rich by working hard	47	42	7	3	1=100
h. The strength of this country today is mostly based on the success of American business	24	54	15	5	2=100
i. Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good	19	42	28	5	6=100

CONTINUED....

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	(VOL) Don't Know
j. When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful	29	41	24	4	2=100
l. The Federal Government controls too much of our daily lives	28	36	29	5	2=100
m. The government is really run for the benefit of all the people	8	36	37	17	2=100
n. Business corporations generally strike a fair balance between making profits and serving the public interest	5	35	42	14	4=100
o. There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies	30	47	18	3	2=100
p. Business corporations make too much profit	21	39	29	5	6=100
q. It is time for Washington politicians to step aside and make room for new leaders	38	46	12	2	2=100
r. Dealing with a federal government agency is often not worth the trouble	21	43	27	4	5=100

CONTINUED....

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	(VOL) Don't Know
r1. Many people today think they can get ahead without working hard and making sacrifices	24	39	22	13	2=100
s. As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want	16	50	24	8	2=100
t. I don't believe that there are any real limits to growth in this country today	19	39	30	8	4=100
u. We need new people in Washington even if they are not as effective as experienced politicians	20	36	30	11	3=100

INTERVIEWER NOTE: FOR QUESTIONS 41, 42, 43, 44 AND 45 PLEASE DETERMINE WHAT DAY OF THE WEEK IT IS. IF THE DAY OF THE WEEK IS SUNDAY, PLEASE READ "FRIDAY". IF THE DAY IS NOT SUNDAY, READ "YESTERDAY".

ASK EVERYONE:

Q.41 Did things come up that kept you from reading a paper yesterday or did you get a chance to read a daily newspaper yesterday?

		March 1990	Feb. 1990	Jan. 1990
48	Read paper	42	45	40
52	Didn't read paper	57	55	60
*	Don't know	1	*	0
100		100	100	100

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES, READ PAPER IN Q.41 ASK:

Q.42 About how much time did you spend reading a daily newspaper yesterday? **(DO NOT READ)**

		March 1990	Feb. 1990	Jan. 1990
7	Less than fifteen minutes	10	10	8
14	Fifteen to less than thirty minutes	13	13	11
15	Thirty minutes to less than one hour	11	13	12
11	One hour or more	8	9	9
1	Don't know	*	*	*

ASK EVERYONE:

Q.43 Did things come up that prevented you from watching any TV news programs yesterday or did you watch the news or a news program on television yesterday? **(DO NOT READ)**

		March 1990	Feb. 1990	Jan. 1990
58	Watched TV news	49	52	57
42	Did not watch	50	47	42
*	Don't know	1	1	1
100		100	100	100

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES, WATCHED IN Q.43 ASK:

Q.44 About how much time did you spend watching the news or any news programs on TV yesterday?

		June 1992	March 1990	Feb. 1990	Jan. 1990
3	Less than fifteen minutes		4	4	3
8	Fifteen to less than thirty minutes		9	9	9
19	Thirty minutes to less than one hour		14	15	17
28	One hour or more		22	24	28
*	Don't know		*	*	*

ASK EVERYONE:

Q.45 About how much time, if any, did you spend listening to any news on the radio yesterday or didn't you happen to listen to the news on the radio yesterday?

		March 1990	Feb. 1990	Jan. 1990
15	Less than fifteen minutes	22	24	21
11	Fifteen to less than thirty minutes	11	11	12
10	Thirty minutes to less than one hour	10	9	9
11	One hour or more	9	11	9
52	Didn't listen	47	44	48
1	Don't know	1	1	1
100		100	100	100

FORM 2

Q.46f2 I'd like to know how often, if ever, you read certain types of publications. For each that I read tell me if you read them regularly, sometimes, hardly ever or never. **(READ AND ROTATE)**

	Regularly	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never	Don't Know
a. Personality magazines such as People or US	8	28	25	39	*=100
July, 1990	9	25	18	48	*=100
June, 1990	10	28	19	43	*=100
May, 1990	7	24	19	50	*=100
April, 1990	9	25	20	46	*=100
March, 1990	8	25	20	47	*=100
February, 1990	8	24	19	49	*=100
January, 1990	9	23	19	49	0=100
b. News magazines such as Time, U.S. News and World Report or Newsweek	20	39	18	23	*=100
July, 1990	18	34	18	30	*=100
June, 1990	21	39	16	24	*=100
May, 1990	17	34	19	30	*=100
April, 1990	20	35	16	29	*=100
March, 1990	16	35	19	30	*=100
February, 1990	17	36	18	29	0=100
January, 1990	18	34	17	31	0=100
c. Magazines such as The Atlantic, Harpers, The New Yorker	2	9	16	73	*=100
July, 1990	2	8	11	79	*=100
June, 1990	2	8	13	77	*=100
May, 1990	2	7	12	79	*=100
April, 1990	2	6	12	80	*=100
March, 1990	2	7	13	78	0=100
February, 1990	2	7	10	81	*=100
January, 1990	2	7	11	80	0=100
d. Business magazines such as Fortune and Forbes	5	17	21	57	*=100
July, 1990	5	15	14	66	*=100
June, 1990	6	16	16	62	*=100
May, 1990	4	14	15	67	*=100
April, 1990	5	15	14	66	*=100
March, 1990	5	14	14	67	0=100
February, 1990	4	12	14	70	*=100
January, 1990	5	13	14	68	0=100

CONTINUED....

	Regularly	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never	Don't Know
e. The National Enquirer, The Sun or The Star	5	13	14	68	*=100
March, 1990	5	15	13	67	*=100
February, 1990	7	13	13	67	*=100
January, 1990	7	12	13	68	0=100

FORM 1

Q.47f1 I'd like to know how often you watch or listen to certain programs. For each that I read, tell me if you watch or listen to it regularly, sometimes, hardly ever or never. **(READ AND ROTATE)**

	Regularly	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never	Don't Know
a. News magazine shows such as 60 minutes or 20/20	46	40	8	6	*=100
July, 1990	46	38	8	8	*=100
June, 1990	50	36	6	8	*=100
May, 1990	45	37	8	10	*=100
April, 1990	47	37	7	9	*=100
March, 1990	41	42	7	10	*=100
February, 1990	39	41	10	10	0=100
January, 1990	43	40	8	9	*=100
b. Sunday morning news shows such as Meet The Press, Face The Nation or This Week with David Brinkley	15	25	21	39	*=100
July, 1990	13	24	14	49	*=100
June, 1990	15	26	12	47	*=100
May, 1990	13	21	16	50	*=100
April, 1990	14	22	12	52	*=100
March, 1990	10	24	16	50	0=100
February, 1990	12	22	13	53	0=100
January, 1990	11	24	14	51	*=100
c. MacNeil Lehrer	6	19	17	56	2=100
July, 1990	7	16	11	66	*=100
June, 1990	7	16	12	64	1=100
May, 1990	8	15	11	65	1=100
April, 1990	6	16	11	66	1=100
March, 1990	5	19	12	63	1=100
February, 1990	5	15	11	69	0=100
January, 1990	6	15	12	67	*=100
d. A Current Affair	19	35	16	29	1=100
April, 1990	19	28	13	40	*=100
March, 1990	17	27	14	41	1=100
February, 1990	17	29	12	42	*=100
January, 1990	18	28	12	42	*=100

CONTINUED....

	Regularly	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never	Don't Know
e. Programs on National Public Radio such as Morning Edition or All Things Considered	7	16	17	59	1=100
July, 1990	9	13	8	70	*=100
June, 1990	9	10	11	69	1=100
May, 1990	7	11	10	72	*=100
April, 1990	7	12	9	71	1=100
March, 1990	7	9	10	74	*=100
February, 1990	8	10	8	74	*=100
January, 1990	5	10	7	78	*=100
f. Entertainment Tonight	11	30	24	35	*=100
April, 1990	14	30	17	39	*=100
March, 1990	15	31	15	39	*=100
February, 1990	11	31	16	42	0=100
January, 1990	11	34	16	39	0=100
g. Cable News Network (CNN)	30	32	10	27	1=100
July, 1990	27	28	8	36	1=100
June, 1990	30	27	6	37	*=100
May, 1990	27	25	7	40	1=100
April, 1990	26	29	7	37	1=100
March, 1990	22	28	8	41	1=100
February, 1990	23	29	8	40	0=100
January, 1990	26	25	7	41	1=100
h. C-Span	6	19	18	54	3=100

FORM 1
Q.48f1 When, as nearly as you can recall, was the last time you read any kind of book all the way through - either a hard cover book or paperbound book? **(DO NOT READ)**

		March 1990	Feb 1990	Jan 1990
40	Past week	31	32	26
17	Past month	21	17	21
8	Two or three months ago	9	9	11
6	Four to six months ago	6	6	8
2	Seven to eleven months ago	2	2	2
5	A year ago	6	5	4
15	More than a year ago	19	23	22
7	Can't say	6	6	6
100		100	100	100

FORM 1
Q.49f1 Do you happen to be reading any books or novels at present?

		March 1990	Feb 1990	Jan 1990
43	Yes	39	39	33
57	No	61	61	67
*	Don't know	*	*	*
100		100	100	100

CONTINUED...

DO NOT ROTATE ITEMS:

Q.50 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)**

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	(VOL) Don't Know
u1. There need to be stricter laws and regulations to protect the environment	55	35	7	2	1=100
u2. People should be willing to pay higher prices in order to protect the environment	26	41	22	10	1=100
v. Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed	59	34	4	2	1=100
w. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country	16	24	30	27	3=100
x. It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves	28	41	20	8	3=100
y. The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt	18	35	31	12	4=100
z. The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep	32	33	22	10	3=100
cc. I am very patriotic	52	39	5	2	2=100

CONTINUED....

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	(VOL) Don't Know
dd. In the past few years there hasn't been much real improvement in the position of black people in this country	21	36	30	9	4=100
ee. I think it's alright for blacks and whites to date each other	33	31	14	18	4=100
ff. We should make every possible effort to improve the position of blacks and other minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment	11	23	36	27	3=100
gg. Discriminations against blacks are rare today	6	13	43	35	3=100
ggl. We should restrict and control people coming into our country to live more than we do now	42	34	15	6	3=100
hh. It is my belief that we should get even with any country that tries to take advantage of the United States	19	27	34	15	5=100
ii. The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	21	33	30	13	3=100
kk. We all should be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong	24	33	25	14	4=100

CONTINUED...

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	(VOL) Don't Know
mm. Most of the countries that have gotten help from America end up resenting us	30	43	19	3	5=100
nn. It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs	47	44	5	2	2=100
nn1. Poor people have become too dependent on government assistance programs	35	44	14	4	3=100
nn2. Japan has taken unfair advantage of the United States	34	35	21	6	4=100
nn3. We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home	48	40	9	2	1=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT

FORM 2

Q.51f2 As I read from a list please tell me which of these things have you done in the past year to express your opinions on issues that concern you. Have you....

	Yes	No	Can't Say
a. Written a letter to an elected official	36	64	*=100
b. Written a letter to the editor	14	86	*=100
c. Signed or circulated a petition	53	47	*=100
d. Attended a public hearing	34	66	*=100
e. Boycotted a company	21	78	1=100
f. Taken part in a public demonstration	9	91	0=100

FORM 2

Q.52f2 In recent years have you attended a political meeting or political rally in support of a specific candidate?

26	Yes
74	No
*	Can't say
100	

FORM 2

Q.53f2 This past year, did you choose on your federal income tax return to donate one dollar of your taxes to a political campaign fund?

25	Yes
69	No
6	Can't say
100	

FORM 1

Q.54f1 I'd like your opinion of some groups in the United States. For each that I name tell me if you think they are having mainly a good influence on the way things are going in this country or mainly a bad influence on the way things are going in this country. **(ROTATE)**

		Good Influence	Bad Influence	----VOL-------		No Opinion
				Neither	Both	
a.	Newspapers	72	19	1	4	4=100
b.	People who run their own business'	91	3	1	1	4=100
c.	Business executives	41	43	1	4	11=100
d.	The Congress	37	49	2	5	7=100
e.	Local and state governments	60	28	1	6	5=100
f.	The churches	85	9	1	2	3=100
g.	Unions	50	39	1	4	6=100
h.	The police	69	20	1	7	3=100
i.	CNN	76	5	1	1	17=100
j.	Movies and TV shows	31	53	2	9	5=100
k.	Rock Music	27	57	4	3	9=100
l.	Environmentalists	75	15	1	4	5=100
m.	The courts	51	37	1	5	6=100
n.	Investors from other countries	33	53	1	4	9=100
o.	The women's movement	68	21	1	4	6=100
p.	Computers and technology	87	7	*	3	3=100

ASK ALL:

Q.55 Here are some statements on a different topic. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	(VOL) Don't Know
b. We all will be called before God at the judgment day to answer for our sins	62	21	7	7	3=100
c. Even today miracles are performed by the power of God	58	25	8	6	3=100
f. School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals	24	16	27	28	5=100
g. Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	30	18	22	27	3=100
o. AIDS might be God's punishment for immoral sexual behavior	17	19	19	38	7=100
q. There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation	41	35	12	9	3=100
t. Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer	38	40	16	4	2=100
w. I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	26	26	31	16	1=100

CONTINUED....

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	(VOL) Don't Know
y. I'm pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for me financially	16	42	25	16	1=100
z. I feel it's my duty as a citizen to always vote	69	22	6	2	1=100
aa. I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs	51	40	6	2	1=100
bb. I'm generally bored by what goes on in Washington	20	35	31	13	1=100
cc. I'm pretty interested in following local politics	26	47	21	5	1=100
dd. Most issues discussed in Washington don't affect me personally	7	26	43	22	2=100
ee. I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote	39	30	16	9	6=100
ff. Sometimes I vote for a candidate without really knowing enough about him or her	14	38	25	20	3=100

FORM 2

Q.56F2 For each statement please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it, or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM)**

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
a. I often don't become aware of political candidates until I see their advertising on television	20	42	27	10	1=100
May, 1990	17	45	28	7	3=100
May, 1987	10	42	34	10	4=100
b. I get some sense of what a candidate is like through his or her TV commercials	13	41	33	12	1=100
May, 1990	9	49	30	8	4=100
May, 1987	7	50	31	8	4=100
c. I like to have a picture of a candidate in my mind when I go to vote for him or her	26	50	15	6	3=100
May, 1990	21	53	14	6	6=100
May, 1987	16	54	16	6	8=100

WE ARE INTERESTED IN HOW PEOPLE GET TO KNOW ABOUT POLITICAL CANDIDATES....

FORM 2

Q.57F2 Which gives you a better idea of where a candidate stands on issues: new reports on TV, or candidates' TV commercials?

		Nov[14] 1990	May 1990	May 1987
81	New reports	63	74	79
15	Candidates' TV commercials	28	17	13
4	Don't know	9	9	8
100		100	100	100

---

[14] Based on registered voters. In November, 1990 the question was asked, "We are interested in how people got to know about political candidates this fall. Which gave you a better idea of where candidates stood on issues - news reports or TV commercials and advertisements about the candidates?"

FORM 2

Q.58F2 Which gives you a better idea of what a candidate is like personally: news reports on TV, or candidates' TV commercials?

		Nov[15] 1990	May 1990	May 1987
74	News reports	53	65	67
22	Candidates' TV commercials	38	26	24
4	Don't know	9	9	9
100		100	100	100

---

[15] Based on registered voters. In November, 1990 the question was asked, "Which gave you a better idea of what the candidates were like personally - news reports or candidates TV commercials and advertisements?"

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT..

Finally, I'd like to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

PLEASE RECORD AND VERIFY PHONE NUMBER:

☐	☐	☐	-	☐	☐	☐	-	☐	☐	☐	☐
AREA CODE				EXCHANGE				NUMBER			

INTERVIEW TIME

D1. CHECK RESPONDENT'S SEX:

1 Male
2 Female

D2A. What is your marital status -- are you married, divorced, separated, widowed, or never been married?

1 Married,
2 Divorced,
3 Separated,
4 Widowed, or
5 Never been married
6 Don't know/No answer

D3. What is the last grade or class that you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ)**

1 None, or grade 1 - 4
2 Grades 5, 6 or 7
3 Grade 8
4 High school incomplete (Grades 9 - 11)
5 High school graduate, Grade 12
6 Technical, trade, or business after high school
7 College/university incomplete
8 College/university graduate
9 Some post-graduate training for an advanced degree, for example, a master's degree, Ph.D., law or medical degree
10 Don't know/No answer

D4. What is your race? Are you white, black, or some other?

1 White
2 Black
3 Other
4 Don't know

D5. Are you, yourself, of Hispanic origin or descent, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Spanish background?

1 Yes
2 No
3 Don't know/Refused

D5A. What is your religious preference - Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Mormon, or an orthodox church such as the Greek or Russian Orthodox Church?

10 Protestant (Baptist, Christjan, Episcopal, Jehovah's Witness, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, etc.)
11 Roman Catholic
12 Jewish
13 Orthodox Church (Greek or Russian)
15 Other **(SPECIFY)**
14 Mormon (include Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints)
16 None
17 Refused/No answer

D5b. Would you describe yourself as a "born-again" or evangelical Christian, or not?

1 Yes, would
2 No, would not
0 Don't know

D6. Is your total annual household income before taxes $20,000 or more or is it less than $20,000?

(IF "UNDER" ASK:) Is it over or under $15,000?
(IF "UNDER" ASK:) Is it over or under $10,000?
(IF "OVER" ASK:) Is it over or under $30,000?
(IF "OVER" ASK:) Is it over or under $50,000?

01 Less than $10,000
02 $10,000-14,999
03 $15,000 - 19,999
04 $20,000 - 29,999
05 $30,000 - $49,999
06 $50,000 and over
07 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

D7. In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat or Independent?

1 Republican -- **SKIP TO D7a**
2 Democrat -- **SKIP TO D7a**
3 Independent
4 Other
5 Don't know

D7a. Do you consider yourself a strong Republican/Democrat or not a strong Republican/Democrat?

D8. As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

		May 1990	May 1988	Jan 1988	May 1987
11	Strong Republican	13	13	12	11
14	Strong Democrat	16	19	19	18
17	Not strong Republican	15	15	15	14
18	Not strong Democrat	17	17	19	19

D9. In the election in November 1988, when George Bush ran against Michael Dukakis, did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote? For whom?

1 Bush
2 Dukakis
3 Other
4 Voted, don't remember for whom
5 Did not vote
0 Don't remember if voted

D10. How many children under 18 years of age are now living in this household?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8 More than 7
9 Refused
0 None

D11. Are/were you salaried or paid by the hour?

1 Salaried
2 Paid by the hour
3 Never worked
0 Don't know/Refused

D12. Do you own or rent your own home?

1 Own
2 Rent
3 **(DO NOT READ)** Other arrangement
4 **(DO NOT READ)** Don't know/No opinion

D13. Are you or is your spouse a member of a labor union?

1 Yes, respondent is
2 Yes, Spouse is
3 Yes, Both
4 Neither are
5 Don't know/No answer

D14. CHECK THE DAY OF WEEK INTERVIEW WAS COMPLETED.

1 Mon 2 Tues 3 Wed 4 Thurs 5 Fri 6 Sat 7 Sun

D15. CIRCLE NUMBER OF CALL ON WHICH THIS INTERVIEW WAS COMPLETED.

1 2 3 4

END OF INTERVIEW. THANK RESPONDENT; Thank you very much for your time.
Have a nice day/evening.

I HEREBY ATTEST THAT THIS IS A TRUE AND HONEST INTERVIEW.

C8915-4.15-F

Times Mirror
Center for
The People &
The Press

NEWS

1875 Eye Street, N.W. Suite 1110
Washington, D.C. 20006
202/293-3126

FOR RELEASE: SATURDAY, JULY 11, 1992, A.M.

The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92:

The Bounce Begins

Survey IX

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Perot's Ratings Sag
CLINTON'S BOUNCE BEGINS

On the eve of the Democratic Convention, Governor Bill Clinton has taken a giant step toward improving his personal image. A ***Times Mirror*** poll conducted on Wednesday and Thursday evening of this week finds 59% of the voting age public having a favorable impression of the Democratic candidate VS. 34% unfavorable. This is a much improved evaluation over the 46% favorable, 47% unfavorable rating recorded for Clinton in Times Mirror's June survey. This is the first time since February that Clinton's negative rating has been below the forty percent level.

Clearly, Clinton's choice of Gore has helped. Forty percent of the public thinks that Al Gore was an ***excellent or good*** choice for running mate, while 22% judged him as only fair and 5% poor. As a consequence, opinions of Clinton were more favorable after the Gore announcement than they were before it. On Wednesday evening Clinton's ratings were 57% favorable, 37% unfavorable. Interviewing Thursday evening reflected an overnight increase to 63% favorable, and a drop in the putative nominee's unfavorability ratings to 30%.

These numbers reflect genuine progress for Clinton. But it should be kept in mind that trends in opinion during the political convention period are often ephemeral. Nonetheless, the poll shows that Clinton has made significant strides in repairing the public image problem which has nagged at the unofficial Democratic nominee since the early stages of his campaign.

The poll also underscores how difficult it has been for Clinton to move out of the shadow of the Ross Perot candidacy. The public apparently paid more attention to Perot than Clinton or President Bush this week despite pre-Convention coverage, the Gore announcement and Bush's overseas meetings with world leaders.

In a period in which the President attended G7 and summit conferences, and Bill Clinton announced his running mate, a 47% plurality of the public said they have heard most in the media about Ross Perot. Thirty percent said they had heard more about Clinton and only 11% named Bush in this regard. Again, the Gore announcement made a difference. On Wednesday evening Perot led Clinton 50% to 25% on this measure, while the saliency (visibility) gap closed to 43% to 37% on Thursday evening.

Perot Slips

Perot's personal image has sustained significant damage as a result of intense media scrutiny and attacks by the Bush campaign. The Texas billionaire's unfavorable ratings have grown from 26% to 35% over the past month. As a result his favorable to unfavorable rating stands at 48% to 35% - well below Clinton's, as he heads to New York.

While Clinton has gone up and Perot down in public esteem over the past month, evaluations of the President have stayed negative. Bush's approval rating remains at 32% and his favorable to unfavorable ratio is an unhealthy 45% favorable to 52% unfavorable. The Vice President's ratings have also remained overwhelmingly negative (29% favorable to 64% unfavorable). In contrast the Democratic Vice Presidential nominee earns a 47% favorable to 19% unfavorable rating. Southerners judge Gore even more positively than people outside the South. In the South his scores were 59% favorable and 15% unfavorable; outside the South they were 42% to 20% respectively.

Although Bill Clinton has improved his public image in all parts of the country and among all demographic groups his ratings have shown the greatest increases among whites and among people under 50 years of age.

Democrats Seen As Party of Change

On the eve of the Democratic convention, economic issues continue to dominate public concerns and the American people give the nod to the Democratic party over the GOP as being better able to solve the nation's top problems by a 35% to 24% margin. By an even larger 47% to 24% margin the public sees the Democratic party and its leadership as better able than the Republicans to bring about needed change. The Democratic party has made gains on these measures since 1990, but has no greater advantage over the GOP than it had in May of 1988.

The Republican party is still seen as better organized than the Democrats (by a 47% to 24% margin), while the public divides evenly on which party comes up with better candidates (34% each). A slight (36% to 30%) plurality think the Democrats are better able than the Republicans to manage the federal government. ***This is the first time in five years that the Democratic party has been better regarded than the GOP on this important performance dimension.***

Image improvements notwithstanding, the public continues to see the Democrats as a fractious bunch. A 44% to 36% plurality of Times Mirror's respondents thought that differences within the party will keep many Democrats from supporting the ticket rather than uniting solidly behind the ticket. But the choice of Sen. Albert Gore Jr. as the vice presidential nominee seems to have helped. On Wednesday evening the margin on this question was 46% to 33% against likely party unity. By Thursday it evened out to 41% to 40%.

Attentiveness to Campaign News Slips

Public interest in the campaign is well off what it was two months ago as enthusiasm for Ross Perot's candidacy was exploding. In the current survey only 20% said they were very closely following news about the campaign compared to 32% who said they were very attentive to election news in the first week of May.

Nevertheless, half the public said they were interested in following what happens in next week's Democratic Convention. Twenty-six percent of the entire sample described itself as ***very interested*** in the Convention, while as many as 40% of Democrats registered a ***high*** level of interest.

Although party platforms are not thought to mean much in modern presidential campaigns, it is the element of the campaign that attracts the most public interest about the Democratic Convention. More Americans said they were ***very interested*** in learning about the party's platform (38%) than said they were very interested in seeing how Clinton and Jesse Jackson got along with each other (26%), or watching Clinton's acceptance speech (25%) or watching the roll call of the states (22%).

Trend in Clinton Favorability Ratings by Demographic Characteristics

	Total Favorable		Total Unfavorable		
	June 1992	July 1992	June 1992	July 1992	Change in %
Total	46	59	47	34	(-13)
Sex					
Male	46	58	49	36	(-13)
Female	47	60	45	33	(-12)
Race					
White	43	56	51	38	(-13)
Black	75	84	18	10	(-8)
Age					
18 - 29	49	62	46	36	(-10)
30 - 49	44	61	50	35	(-15)
50 and older	47	56	44	32	(-12)
Education					
College grad.	41	53	56	41	(-15)
Some college	42	60	53	37	(-16)
H.S. grad.	46	63	46	32	(-14)
Less than H.S. grad.	57	59	31	27	(-4)
Region					
East	44	60	50	36	(-14)
Midwest	48	54	45	38	(-7)
South	49	61	43	31	(-12)
West	43	61	52	31	(-21)
Party Affiliation					
Republican	28	38	66	56	(-10)
Democrat	70	82	24	13	(-11)
Independent	41	55	52	38	(-14)

Survey Methodology

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among a nationally representative sample of 1,053 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period of July 8-9, 1992. 461 of the total number of respondents were interviewed Thursday evening (July 9) following Governor Clinton's announcement of Senator Gore as his vice presidential running mate.

For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
NATIONAL POLITICAL SURVEY #8
PRE-DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION
July 8-9, 1992
N=1,053

SEX: 1[ ]Male 2[ ]Female

INTERVIEWER'S NAME: ____________

TIME STARTED: ____________

INTERVIEWER'S I.D.: ____________

TIME FINISHED: ____________

PAGE NUMBER: ____________

LENGTH: ____________

REPLICATE NUMBER: ____________

REGION:
1 East
2 Midwest
3 South
4 West

STRATUM:
1 Stratum One
2 Stratum Two
3 Remainder

DATE: ____________

INTRODUCTION: Hello, we are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

July 1992		June 1992	May 1992	March 1992	Feb 1992	Jan 1992	Nov 1991	Oct 1991	July 1991
32	Approve	32	37	38	39	46	55	61	67
56	Disapprove	57	51	52	53	43	33	28	23
12	Don't know	11	12	10	8	11	12	11	7
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.2 What do you think is the most important problem facing the nation today?

	July 1992	Jan 1992	May 1990	May 1989	May 1987
Economy	27	43	5	4	10
Unemployment/ Lack of jobs	25	22	7	9	13
Deficit/Balanced budget	7	4	11	19	11
Homelessness	7	6	8	10	*
Drugs/Alcohol	4	4	11	22	37
Poverty	4	1			
Education	4	2			
Crime/Gangs/ Justice system	4	3	8	8	3
Health care (cost, accessibility)	3	2	2	*	*
Too much on foreign aid	3	1			
Morality/Ethics/ Family values	3	3	5	2	5
Dissatisfaction with government/politicians	2	2			
Environment	2	1			
Racism	2	1			
Taxes	2	*			
Women's issues	2	1			
Hunger	2	2	1	*	*
Net economic	63	76			
Don't know/No answer	3	2			

Surveys in 1990 and earlier where no percentages appear were equal to 2% or less.

Q.3 Which political party do you think can do a better job of handling the problem you just mentioned -- the Republican Party or the Democratic party?

July 1992		May 1990	May 1988	Jan 1988	May 1987
24	Republican	29	26	30	28
35	Democratic	30	38	35	38
19	No difference (VOL)	31	22	24	24
22	Don't know	10	14	11	10
100		100	100	100	100

Q.4 This past month, how closely have you been following news about the Presidential campaign? **(READ CATEGORIES 1-4)**

July 1992		May 1992
20	Very closely?	32
45	Fairly closely?	44
26	Not too closely?	16
9	Not at all closely?	8
*	Don't know	*
100		100

Q.5 Apart from whom you support, which presidential candidate have you heard the most about in the last week or so in newspapers, on television or on radio George Bush, Bill Clinton or Ross Perot?

July 1992	
11	George Bush
30	Bill Clinton
47	Ross Perot
9	All about equal (VOL)
3	None/Don't know
100	

IF VICE PRESIDENT IS ANNOUNCED ASK:

Q.5a As you may have heard Bill Clinton has named Al Gore as his running mate. How would you rate Al Gore? Do you think he is an excellent, good only fair or poor choice?

July 1992	
15	Excellent
25	Good
22	Only fair
5	Poor
33	Don't know
100	

(N=461. Asked Thursday night only)

Q.6 Are you interested in following what happens at next week's Democratic National Convention in New York or aren't you that interested in the convention?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' INTERESTED IN Q.6 ASK:

Q.6a Would you say you are very interested or fairly interested in what happens at next week's Democratic National Convention?

July 1992	
53	Total Interested
26	Very Interested
27	Fairly Interested/DK
45	Not interested
2	Don't know
100	

ASK ALL:

Q.7 Do you think the television networks should be required to cover all or almost all of the proceedings of the political conventions or not?

July 1992	
49	Yes, required
46	No, should not
5	Don't know
100	

Q.8 As I read some things that will happen at next week's Democratic Convention, tell me how interested you are in this. How interested are you in (ITEM...)? Are you very interested in this, fairly interested, not too interested or not at all interested in this?

	Very Interested	Fairly Interested	Not too Interested	Not at Interested	DK
a. Watching Bill Clinton's acceptance speech	25	32	20	22	1
b. Watching the roll call of the states as they cast their ballots	22	29	25	23	1
c. Seeing how Bill Clinton and Jesse Jackson get along with each other	26	24	20	27	3
d. Learning about the Democratic Party's platform	38	34	16	11	1

Q.9 Do you think the Democratic party will unite solidly behind Bill Clinton or do you think that differences and disagreements within the party will keep many Democrats from supporting the ticket?

July 1992	
36	Solidly united
44	Keep many from supporting
20	Don't know
100	

Q.10 Now I am going to read a few phrases. For each tell me whether you think the phrase better describes the Republican party or the Democratic party. **(READ THE FIRST PHRASE...)** Does that more accurately describe the Republican party and its leaders or does it more accurately describe the Democratic party and its leaders? **(ROTATE)**

	Republicans	Democrats	(VOL) Both	(VOL) Neither	DK
a. Well organized					
July, 1992	**47**	**24**	**6**	**14**	**9=100**
May, 1990	40	16	22	13	9=100
May, 1988	39	23	15	14	9=100
January, 1988	38	20	19	14	9=100
May, 1987	34	19	25	13	9=100
b. Selects good candidates for office					
July, 1992	**34**	**34**	**4**	**15**	**13=100**
May, 1990	32	22	21	17	8=100
May, 1988	28	30	13	19	10=100
January, 1988	31	24	18	18	9=100
May, 1987	27	26	25	13	9=100
c. Able to manage the federal government well					
July, 1992	**30**	**36**	**1**	**23**	**10=100**
May, 1990	28	20	12	31	9=100
May, 1988	33	30	10	17	10=100
January, 1988	30	28	12	20	10=100
May, 1987	24	25	13	28	10=100
d. Can bring about the kind of changes the country needs					
July, 1992	**24**	**47**	**2**	**16**	**11=100**
May, 1990	27	31	13	18	11=100
May, 1988	27	43	9	11	10=100
January, 1988	28	37	14	11	10=100
May, 1987	26	36	14	14	10=100

Note: The surveys conducted prior to 1992 were personal interviews, where respondents were more likely to volunteer the "both" response, and less likely to name either party. Trends on these measures should be judged with that in mind.

Q.11 I'd like your opinion of some people and organizations? As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who I name. First, would you describe your opinion of **(ITEM)** as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable? **(ROTATE)**

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
a. George Bush						
July, 1992	12	33	30	22	0	3=100
June, 1992	13	38	29	18	0	2=100
May, 1992	13	42	25	17	0	3=100
March, 1992	18	45	23	13	0	1=100
February, 1992	26	38	20	14	0	2=100
January, 1992	20	43	22	13	0	2=100
November, 1991	25	46	17	9	0	3=100
May, 1990	24	52	15	7	0	2=100
January, 1989	24	54	9	4		9=100
*October, 1988	23	35	20	17		5=100
*September, 1988	19	40	20	17		4=100
*August, 1988	25	40	18	12		5=100
May, 1988	11	40	25	17		7=100
January, 1988	11	41	26	13		9=100
September, 1987	18	51	19	8		4=100
May, 1987	11	56	19	7		7=100
b. Bill Clinton						
July, 1992	17	42	25	9	0	7=100
June, 1992	10	36	33	14	1	6=100
May, 1992	11	42	32	10	*	5=100
March, 1992	10	43	29	11	1	6=100
February, 1992	15	44	24	7	2	8=100
January, 1992	9	28	11	4	27	21=100
November, 1991	5	25	8	2	39	21=100
c. Ross Perot						
July, 1992	18	30	21	14	1	16=100
June, 1992	18	35	18	8	5	16=100
May,1992	11	39	20	7	2	21=100
March, 1992	11	18	15	6	29	21=100

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
d. Dan Quayle						
July, 1992	6	23	33	31	*	7=100
June, 1992	7	26	34	27	1	5=100
November, 1991	9	40	28	15	1	7=100
May, 1990	6	41	24	15	4	10=100
*October, 1988	10	33	21	24	*	12=100
*September, 1988	9	32	17	15	2	25=100
*August, 1988	12	38	19	9	2	20=100
e. Al Gore						
July, 1992**	15	32	14	5	6	28=100
f. The Republican party						
July, 1992	9	37	31	17	0	6=100
g. The Democratic party						
July, 1992	17	44	24	9	0	6=100

** 461 respondents asked Thursday night only about Al Gore

C8915-4 16-F

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Center for
The People &
The Press

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NEWS Release

FOR RELEASE: FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992, A.M.

The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92:

The Clinton Converts

Survey X

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CLINTON CONVERTS ONE IN THREE VOTERS
BUT MOST STRONGLY QUALIFY THEIR SUPPORT

The American electorate has changed its allegiances more dramatically and rapidly in recent weeks than perhaps ever before in campaign history. However, the size of the shift is so large and the commitment of voters to its recipient, Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas, is so tenuous, that voting intentions could again change dramatically in a relatively short period of time.

Only half of the American electorate holds the same voting intentions it held six weeks ago. According to a new national survey from ***The Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press***, twenty-six percent supported George Bush in the first week of June and continue to do so today. A like number, 25% were supporters of Bill Clinton then and are so today.

The other half of the electorate has changed its voting intentions in reaction to Ross Perot's departure from the race and in response to the revitalization of Bill Clinton's personal image. The Clinton\Gore ticket has picked up the support of one in three voters since early June. Most (24% of 32%) are former supporters of independent candidate Ross Perot.

To better understand how and why voters have changed their minds about the candidates, Times Mirror re-interviewed 1023 registered voters from a nationwide survey originally conducted May 28-June 10. The Center has also conducted weekly independent samples of the American electorate since the end of the Democratic Convention to assess the stability of Clinton's post-convention lift.

In contrast to the remarkable surge to Clinton, the Bush/Quayle ticket has won over only about one in three former Perot supporters (9%). But even these gains have been offset to some extent by defections going directly from Bush to Clinton (5%) and by some undecideds (3%) making up their minds in favor of Clinton over this same period.

Clinton's recent converts come from all over the ideological and demographic map. Reminiscent of the Perot voters many once were, Clinton's new supporters seem only united only by their desire for change and dislike for George Bush.

Although a plurality of Clinton converts express more positive personal opinions of the Arkansas Governor than they did in June, there is little indication that this decisive voting bloc has made a firm commitment to the Democratic ticket. The overwhelming majority (71%) consider themselves only weak supporters of Clinton who would vote against the President (55%) rather than for Clinton/Gore (40%).

These qualifications of intention are underscored by the volatility apparent in the responses of these voters to Bill Clinton personally. Although almost all recent converts (88%) say they now have a favorable attitude toward the Democratic nominee, as many as 43% had an unfavorable opinion of him in June and only one in five say they know ***a lot*** about what Clinton stands for.

Clinton Leads by 20 to 25% Points

The re-interview survey found the Clinton-Gore ticket leading Bush-Quayle by a 57% to 36% margin. The weekly surveys with "fresh" samples of the American public show a somewhat larger and consistent Democratic margin in each of the two weeks following the Democratic Convention and Ross Perot's announced withdrawal from the race - 31% Bush to 58% Clinton in polling July 22-26. A week later Times Mirror found a nearly identical 32% to 57% margin during the July 29-August 2 survey period. All three surveys are based upon nationwide samples of registered voters.

Disaffecteds Move to Clinton

Clinton conversions have occurred in substantial numbers in virtually every social, demographic and political group. However, their patterning reflects traditional Democratic groups coalescing around their candidate and the virtual wholesale shift of Ross Perot's constituency to the Clinton side.

Times Mirror's panel back survey finds over four in ten Independents (43%) and 37% of Democrats moving to Clinton over the period of the study. In terms of the Times Mirror typology, most movement to the Democratic candidate has occurred among core Democratic groups and Independent groups that typically vote Republican. Forty-four percent of ***Disaffected*** voters shifted to Clinton since early June as did 34% of the younger, more politically moderate ***Upbeat*** voters.

Clinton is now winning the support of an unparalleled ninety percent of core Democratic groups, while Bush is only managing to gain the support of 81% of Republican ***Enterprisers*** and 75% of ***Moralists***. As many as 22% of ***Moralist*** Republicans, who are social conservatives, say they now favor Clinton.

The Arkansas Governor leads Bush by nearly 2 to 1 among ***Disaffected*** voters and has a much smaller margin among ***Upbeats***.

CANDIDATE PREFERENCE**
BY TYPOLOGY GROUP

	MAY 28-JUNE 10, 1992 *THREE WAY CHOICE*			*JULY 29-AUG 1, 1992* *TWO WAY CHOICE*	
	BUSH	*CLINTON*	*PEROT*	*BUSH*	*CLINTON*
TOTAL	31	27	36	36	57
ENTERPRISERS	65	3	31	81	14
MORALISTS	64	8	26	75	22
UPBEATS	41	14	38	40	48
DISAFFECTEDS	22	21	48	31	59
SECULARS	13	38	46	11	79
60'S DEMOCRATS	12	48	35	2	93
NEW DEALERS	10	44	44	12	87
POCKET BOOK DEMOCRATS	7	61	25	4	93
BYSTANDERS/ OTHER	30	23	39	33	60

***Includes Leaners.*

Clinton Converts Soft Supporters

Although voters are expressing more conviction about their choices than they did in June, most backers of each candidate consider themselves only moderate supporters. Clinton's recent converts are far less likely to be firm supporters (29%) than are voters who had been backing him in early June (58%). But on balance Clinton has slightly more strong support (42%) than Bush (37%).

However, more Bush backers say they support the President for positive reasons (55%) than is the case for Clinton (47%). About as many Clinton supporters (48%) say they are mainly for the Arkansas Governor because they oppose the President. Again, recent Clinton converts show more softness - 55% are backing Clinton for negative reasons, compared to 39% among those longer term adherents.

Similarly, Clinton remains an unknown quantity to much of the electorate, including those who have moved to his side in recent weeks. Just 22% say they know ***a lot*** about what he stands for. This familiarity indicator is up from 12% in March, but it continues to be quite modest among people who say they would vote for him if the election were being held today.

Just 20% of recent converts to the Clinton\Gore ticket say they know a lot about what Bill Clinton stands for.

Bush Defined By Foreign Policy Achievements and Class Favoritism

Given the play back on what voters say they think George Bush stands for, he may envy his rival's "blank page" image. Forty-seven percent say they know ***a lot*** about what the President stands for and many go on to make negative comments about him in a question soliciting open-ended responses. Most often (14%) people say that Bush stand for the ***"rich, upper classes and monied interests"***. One in ten mention the President's credentials in the foreign policy area and 10% mention the Persian Gulf crisis specifically. Eight percent mention ***"negative effect on the economy"***.

In total, 21% mention foreign policy issues in response to what Bush stands for, 18% mention class issues, 15% abortion or family values, 13% the economic problems of the country and 12% mention Bush not keeping his word generally or specifically in response to breaking his no new taxes pledge. Republicans, ***Enterprisers*** and ***Moralists*** alike, emphasize Bush's foreign policy achievements and his position on abortion or family values. ***Disaffecteds*** and Democratic core groups most often define Bush as the representative of a privileged class.

People describe Clinton in terms that are almost the opposite of those used to describe Bush. Eighteen percent mention his being an advocate of the working class, 17% mention his positions on the economy, 11% his personal problems and 11% his pro-choice position.

Clinton Negative Below 40%, Bush Above 50% Level

Over the past two months the personal images of the Presidential candidates have gone in opposite directions. Thirty-six percent of the panel back sample gave Clinton a better favorability rating than in June, while only 13% had a less favorable opinion of him in the second interview. Bush's numbers are quite different. One in four (24%) gave him a lower rating in the current poll and only 15% gave Bush a better rating a month later.

As a result, the Democratic challenger's favorable to unfavorable rating at 63% to 35% now far eclipses the 47% favorable, 52% unfavorable rating achieved by President Bush.

Clinton has repaired his personal image among almost all voting and demographic groups, but he has made his greatest personal gains among political independents and among middle and upper-income people. Typologically, Clinton has erased the most doubts about him personally among ***Disaffected*** voters and among Democratic-leaning middle class groups - ***60's Democrats*** and ***Seculars***. There is no particular pattern to the growth in Bush's negatives. Almost all political and demographic groups show about one in four giving a lower rating to the President in the current poll than in the June survey.

Voters who have improved their view of Clinton for the most part explain their change of heart in terms of learning more about what Clinton stands for (36%), Clinton's increased media exposure (11%), the candidate's convention speech (10%) and the choice of Al Gore (12%).

The "No Way Clinton" Vote Falls to 26%

The net effect of Clinton's image repair has been to reduce the percentage of voters saying there is no way they would vote for the Arkansas governor from 38% in an early May Times Mirror survey to just 26% in the current poll. At the same time the percentage of voters who say they have made up their minds not to vote for Bush increased from 40% in May to 45% in the current poll.

Looked at another way, 71% now either support Clinton or say there is a chance they might vote for him in November. In contrast, a thin 51% majority either supports Bush now, or can envision the possibility of doing so by election day.

At least for now, voters express more concern about the risks of not making a change in November than worry about changing horses. Only one in five voters think there is a big chance that if Clinton is elected he will make a major mistake, but ***56% of the electorate feels there is no chance that conditions in this country will improve, if Bush is re-elected.*** Both attitudes are about as prevalent as they were in May.

Eight in ten Clinton supporters see no chance of improvement for the country, if the President is re-elected. This attitude is about equally prevalent among newly converted (76%) and longer term supporters (82%). However, Clinton's newest supporters are somewhat more likely than others to see at least some chance that Clinton might make major mistakes in the White House (66% vs. 55%).

Bush/Powell Would Run Slightly Stronger Race

The survey finds two possible sources of small gains in support for Bush. First, the percentage saying they would vote for the President increases to the 40% level when voters are asked to imagine who they might vote for, if they came to see both candidates as equally qualified. Under those circumstances 42% said they would vote for Bush and 50% for Clinton. Most of the movement to Bush in that scenario would come from people who are now undecided (31%) and from recent Clinton converts (16%).

The same two groups would move in the Bush direction in a more dramatic scenario in which Bush named Colin Powell as his running mate. A Bush/Powell ticket drew the support of 41% of the voters questioned, compared to 55% for Clinton/Gore. Bush gains came from undecideds and recent Clinton converts. In typological terms Bush tests no better among core Republican groups with Powell but attracts somewhat more support from Independent ***Upbeats*** and ***Disaffecteds***.

Perot's Withdrawal Doesn't Dampen Interest ....

Former supporters of Ross Perot appear to have maintained their interest and enthusiasm for the presidential election .... at least those who have switched to Bill Clinton.

Prior to his departure from the race, supporters of the independent candidate had shown consistently more interest in the campaign than those who favored either Clinton or Bush. Their level of interest was such that higher turnout in November seemed a distinct possibility.

Times Mirror's panel back survey finds that Perot supporters who switched to Clinton continue to show a high level of interest in the campaign. However, Perot supporters who say they now back Bush have lost interest in the election and don't match the Clinton supporters for attentiveness and enthusiasm.

Eighty percent of Clinton\Perot supporters say they have given quite a lot of thought to the election, compared to 72% among Bush\Perot supporters. Similarly, 44% of Clinton converts from Perot say they have paid *very close* attention to campaign news while only 32% of the Bush converts say so.

The Clinton converts are also more likely to say that they have greater interest in campaign '92 than they had in '88 (67%) than those who support Bush (52%) and show a higher probability of voting.

Sustained interest in the campaign notwithstanding, former Perot supporters, regardless of who they now support, are less satisfied with the choice of candidates than they were in June. However, the Clinton converts are more apt to be satisfied (46%) than those who say they now intend to vote for the President (26%).

		Clinton Supporters		
	Total Bush 37%	Total Clinton 57%	New Since June 32%	Had Been With Him in June 25%
Type of Supporter				
Strong	37	42	29	58
Weak	63	58	71	42
Direction of Support				
Pro	55	47	40	57
Anti	42	48	55	39
Knows a lot about what George Bush stands for	52	46	46	46
Knows a lot about what Bill Clinton stands for	18	26	20	32
Impression of what George Bush stands for				
For rich/not for lower or middle class (net)	3	28	30	26
Pro-life/family values (net)	25	8	8	7
Economic problems (net)	3	20	17	23
Foreign policy (net)	32	14	16	11
Trust/raised taxes/says one thing does another (net)	4	18	19	16
Impression of what Bill Clinton stands for				
Advocate of working class	2	28	27	31
Change/Different than Bush	4	24	26	23
Pro-Choice	15	9	9	10
Economy/will create jobs/tax reform (net)	9	22	24	19
Personal negatives/scandals/negative perceptions of Hillary (net)	22	4	5	2

		Clinton Supporters		
	Total Bush 37%	Total Clinton 57%	New Since June 32%	Had Been With Him in June 25%
Favorability Ratings				
George Bush				
Favorable	94	18	22	13
Unfavorable	6	81	77	86
Ratings higher than in June	16	14	12	17
Ratings lower than in June	16	29	29	28
Bill Clinton				
Favorable	22	92	88	97
Unfavorable	74	8	12	3
Ratings higher than in June	27	43	53	30
Ratings lower than in June	19	8	6	11
Rated Clinton negatively in June	75	28	43	10
Why opinion of Bill Clinton has improved				
Exposure/Increased media exposure/Convention speech was good (net)	40	55	55	55
Better of two evils/ Disillusionment with Bush (net)	4	25	30	13
Choice of Al Gore as running mate	10	12	14	8
Chance might vote for Bush				
Yes		20	29	9
No		76	66	88
Can't say		4	5	3
		100	100	100
Chance things will get better if Bush is re-elected				
Yes, chance	69	16	18	14
No chance	21	79	76	83
Don't know	10	5	6	3
	100	100	100	100

		Clinton Supporters		
	Total Bush 37%	Total Clinton 57%	New Since June 32%	Had Been With Him in June 25%
Chance Clinton will make major mistakes if elected President				
A big chance	41	3	3	2
Some chance	46	61	66	55
Hardly any chance	9	33	29	39
Can't say	4	3	2	4
	100	100	100	100
If Bush and Clinton are equally qualified by election time who would you vote for				
George Bush	91	11	16	5
Bill Clinton	4	83	76	91
Other/Undecided	5	6	8	4
	100	100	100	100

Survey Methodology

The survey results are based on telephone re-interviews of 1,023 registered voters from a nationwide survey of adults 18 years and older originally conducted May 28 - June 10, 1992.

Two independent surveys were also conducted among a nationally representative sample of registered voters from July 22-26 (N=743) and July 29-August 2 (N=792).

For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 4 percentage points for the re-interview sample and plus or minus 5 percentage points for each of the two independent weekly samples. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE TIMES MIRROR TYPOLOGY

In 1987 Times Mirror developed a unique voter classification scheme that divided the electorate on the basis of political values, party identification and measures of political participation. Since its inception Times Mirror has conducted numerous nationwide surveys using this political typology, the most recent of which was reported in ***THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS & POLITICS - 1990***. The typology was developed for administration by personal interview in that it requires about 15 minutes of interviewing time to ask the full battery of questions.

Over the past year the ***Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press*** has developed a modified form of the Times Mirror Typology that is suitable for telephone interviewing in that it requires many fewer questions. It also divides the public into fewer groups (9 vs. 11) and therefore can be used with more limited sample size surveys. It is our intention to utilize the modified typology scheme on each of our pre-election surveys in 1992. While this form of the typology does not offer the full analytical richness of the original scheme, we think it continues to be an important and highly useful way of looking at the electorate.

The modified typology is based on the important concepts about the homogeneity of various voting groups that we uncovered in our earlier research.

There are two core Republican groups:

Enterprisers: Enterprisers are fiscal conservatives who hold positive attitudes toward business and are anti-welfarist. They are affluent, well-educated and well-informed. Enterprisers are much less likely than other Americans to agree with the popular notion that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer (43% vs. 81%). Their pro-business stance leads them to differ with most Americans on the idea that too much power is concentrated in the hands of big companies. While 82% of other Americans feel that this is true, only 48% of Enterprisers agree. Enterprisers are also less likely to completely agree that society should make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity (55% vs. 41%).

Moralists: Moralists are highly religious, socially conservative and show low levels of concern for personal freedoms. They are less affluent, older, and many live in the South. A vast majority of Moralists agree that books with dangerous ideas should be banned from public schools, which sets them firmly to the right of the rest of the public on the issue of censorship (89% vs. 39%).

There are three core Democratic groups:

Sixties Democrats: Sixties Democrats are strong believers in peace and social justice. More than any other segment of the population, they disagree with the idea that the best way to preserve peace is through military strength (88% vs. 44%). And two-thirds (65%) of Sixties Democrats completely agree that society should guarantee everyone an equal opportunity. This is a heavily female, middle class, middle-aged group that supports most of the policy positions of the national Democratic party.

New Dealers: New Dealers are older Democrats who experience little financial pressure and are more socially conservative than the national Democratic Party. Drawn heavily from the South, many of these old-time Democrats have party roots that go back to Roosevelt. Despite the end of the Cold War, New Dealers still universally agree that the best way to insure peace is through military strength (96%[1]).

Pocketbook Democrats: Pocketbook Dems overwhelmingly agree that they don't have enough money to make ends meet (98%). They are very concerned with social justice, and they believe that government should take an active role in the solution of the socio-economic problems that plague them. One-third of Pocketbook Dems are minorities (32%), and many have less than a high school education.

There are three typology groups that are basically Independent:

Seculars: Seculars lean to the Democratic party, but some identify more closely with the GOP on certain issues. They are strongly supportive of personal freedoms. Seculars are well-informed, relatively affluent, and more often found on the East and West coasts. Their defining characteristic is an almost total lack of religious conviction. While 87% of the rest of the public says that prayer is an important part of their daily life, only one in ten (12%) Seculars hold this view. Their support for personal freedoms is best reflected in their feelings about censorship: 97% disagree with banning books containing dangerous ideas from public school libraries, compared with 48% of other Americans.

Two of the Independent groups lean to the Republican party:

Disaffecteds: Disaffecteds are personally alienated, financially pressured and deeply skeptical of politicians. This middle-aged, lower-middle income group contains many blue collar workers. Disaffecteds are nearly twice as likely as others to agree that hard work offers little guarantee of success (69% vs. 36%). Their political distrust is such that three-quarters (77%) disagree that elected officials care what people like them think.

Upbeats: Upbeats are also independents who lean to the GOP, but their attitudinal profile is almost the opposite of Disaffecteds. Upbeats are primarily young people who tend to be uncritical of government and other institutions. They also have American Exceptionalist values: 88% of Upbeats agree that Americans can always solve their problems, while only 55% of others agree.

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[1] Based on combined survey results from November 1991 and January 1992.

Finally, there is one typology group that is by definition apolitical:

Bystanders: Bystanders have an almost total lack of interest in politics and public affairs. This urban, lower socio-economic group contains many young singles. Forty-six percent of Bystanders say they seldom vote.

The table below shows the percentage of the survey respondents in each typology group for this survey.

PERCENT	
Enterprisers	11
Moralists	18
Upbeats	13
Disaffecteds	10
Bystanders/Other	9
Seculars	8
60's Democrats	9
New Dealers	6
Pocketbook Dems.	16

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
21ST CENTURY VOTER RE-INTERVIEW
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS
JULY 29-AUGUST 1, 1992
N=1023

INTRODUCTION: Hello, we are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of AGE/SEX of respondent. It will only be a few questions to follow up to the interview we did a month or so ago

MY FIRST QUESTION IS:

Q.1 How much thought have you given to the coming Presidential election quite a lot or only a little?

		June[2] 1992
72	Quite a lot	63
4	Some (VOL)	6
23	Little	29
1	None	1
*	Can't say	1
100		100
		(2594)

Q.2 How closely have you been following news about the Presidential election, very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

		May 1992
36	Very closely	35
51	Fairly closely	43
11	Not too closely,	15
2	Not at ally closely?	7
0	Don't know	*
100		100
		(1065)

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[2] All trend is based on registered voters unless otherwise noted.

Q.3 If the presidential election were being held today, would you vote for the Republican ticket of George Bush and Dan Quayle, or for the Democratic ticket of Bill Clinton and Al Gore?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q.3 ASK:
Q.5 As of today, do you lean more to Bush and Quayle the Republicans, or more to Clinton and Gore the Democrats?

		July 22-26 1992	July 29- Aug. 2 1992
36	Bush/Quayle	31	32
57	Clinton/Gore	58	57
6	Other/Undecided	11	11
100		100	100
		(743)	(792)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' GEORGE BUSH OR '2' BILL CLINTON IN Q.3 ASK:
Q.4 Do you support (INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.3) strongly or only moderately?

37	Bush/Quayle
14	Strong
23	Weak
57	Clinton/Gore
24	Strong
33	Weak

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q.3 AND Q.5 SKIP TO Q.7
Q.6 Would you say that your choice is more a vote for (CANDIDATE FROM Q.3/5) or more a vote against (OTHER CANDIDATE)?

37	Bush/Quayle
20	Bush/Quayle-positive
16	Bush/Quayle-anti-Clinton
1	Bush/Quayle-can't say
57	Clinton/Gore
27	Clinton/Gore-positive
28	Clinton/Gore-anti-Bush
2	Clinton/Gore-can't say

ASK ALL:

Q.7 What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year? Would you say that you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the choices?

		June 1992	May[3] 1992	Mar 1992
11	Very satisfied	6	25	26
42	Fairly satisfied	29		
31	Not too satisfied	36	72	68
15	Not at all satisfied	27		
1	Can't say	2	3	6
100		100	100	100
		(2594)	(1065)	(1366)

Q.8 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?

Q.9 How certain are you that you will vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

		June 1992
97	Yes	97
89	Absolutely certain	88
8	Fairly certain	8
*	Not certain	1
1	No	1
2	Can't say	2
100		100
		(2594)

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[3] In May and March the question was asked, "What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year? Would you say that you are satisfied with the choices or not satisfied with the choices?

Q.10 Are you more interested or less interested in politics this year than you were in 1988?

		June 1992	March 1992
63	More	54	58
15	Less	23	26
22	Same (VOL)	21	14
*	Can't say	2	2
100		100	100
		(2594)	(1366)

Q.11 How much would you say you know about what George Bush stands for? Would you say you know: **(READ CHOICES 1-4)**

		March 1992
47	A lot	49
29	A little	25
21	Only some	20
3	Nothing	4
*	Don't know	2
100		100
		(1366)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' A LOT '2' A LITTLE OR '3' ONLY SOME IN Q.11 ASK:
Q.12 What comes to mind when you think about what George Bush stands for?

		March 1992
*14	The rich/upper class/Money	12
7	Has country's best interests at heart	7
##8	Negative effect on economy	8
5	General negative	7
**10	Persian Gulf crisis/ Military strength	7
**10	Foreign policy strength	6
3	General positive	5
2	Positive effects on economy	3
**9	Too much attention foreign countries	3
1	Not had good effect on country	2
#11	Pro-life/Anti-abortion	
9	No direction/Doesn't stand for anything	
*8	Not for the middle/working/ lower class	
7	No domestic agenda	
###7	Raised taxes; "read my lips"	
###6	Says one thing and does another	
#6	Family values in general	
##6	Unemployment	
6	Conservative	
4	Hands are tied by Congress	
**3	Didn't handle Gulf crisis well	
2	Less government spending/ intervention	
*	Savings and Loan issues	
18	**NET: class**	
21	**NET: foreign policy**	
15	**NET: abortion/family values**	
13	**NET: economic problems**	
12	**NET: trust**	
2	Other	10
7	Don't know/No answer	36
(992)		(440)

*Make up NET: class
**Make up NET: foreign policy
#Make up NET: abortion/family values
##Make up NET: economic problems
###Make up NET: trust

Q.13 How much would you say you know about what Bill Clinton stands for? Would you say you know: **(READ CHOICES 1-4)**

		March 1992
22	A lot	12
39	A little	36
32	Only some	39
7	Nothing	10
*	Don't know	3
100		100
(730)[4]		(1366)

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[4] This question is based on total respondents interviewed 7/30/92-8/2/92.

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' A LOT '2' A LITTLE OR '3' ONLY SOME IN Q.13 ASK:

Q.14 What comes to mind when you think about what Bill Clinton stands for?

		March 1992
18	Advocate for lower/ middle class/Unions	8
**6	Untrustworthy/Slick/ Not sincere	7
**4	Scandals: Affairs/ Draft/Business	7
3	General positive	6
4	General negative	6
*7	Economic policies	5
16	Change/Different than Bush	4
7	Stands for Liberal/ Democratic ideals	3
*3	Tax reform	4
6	General domestic reform	3
2	Democrat	1
11	Pro-choice	
*9	Will create jobs/improve unemployment	
7	Increased government spending "Tax & Spend"	
6	Health care reform	
4	No direction/Doesn't stand for anything	
3	Charismatic/Seems like a nice guy	
3	Positive impression of Al Gore	
2	Good record in Arkansas	
2	Inexperienced	
**2	Negative perceptions of Hillary	
*	Poor record in Arkansas	
17	**NET: economy**	
11	**NET: personal negatives**	
1	Other	7
10	Don't know	44
(682)		(419)

*Make up NET: economy
**Make up NET: personal negatives

Q.15 I'd like your opinion of some people. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who I name. First, would you describe your opinion of **(ITEM)** as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable? **(ROTATE)**

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	(VOL) Never Heard Of	(VOL) Can't Rate
a. George Bush	9	38	32	20	0	1=100
*July, 1992	12	33	30	22	0	3=100
*June, 1992	13	38	29	18	0	2=100
*May, 1992	13	42	25	17	0	3=100
*March, 1992	18	45	23	13	0	1=100
*February, 1992	26	38	20	14	0	2=100
*January, 1992	20	43	22	13	0	2=100
*November, 1991	25	46	17	9	0	3=100
*May, 1990	24	52	15	7	0	2=100
*January, 1989	24	54	9	4		9=100
October, 1988	23	35	20	17		5=100
September, 1988	19	40	20	17		4=100
August, 1988	25	40	18	12		5=100
*May, 1988	11	40	25	17		7=100
*January, 1988	11	41	26	13		9=100
*September, 1987	18	51	19	8		4=100
*May, 1987	11	56	19	7		7=100
b. Bill Clinton	16	47	24	11	0	2=100
*July, 1992	17	42	25	9	0	7=100
*June, 1992	10	36	33	14	1	6=100
*May, 1992	11	42	32	10	*	5=100
*March, 1992	10	43	29	11	1	6=100
*February, 1992	15	44	24	7	2	8=100
*January, 1992	9	28	11	4	27	21=100
*November, 1991	5	25	8	2	39	21=100
c. Ross Perot	9	24	34	25	0	8=100
*July, 1992	18	30	21	14	1	16=100
*June, 1992	18	35	18	8	5	16=100
*May, 1992	11	39	20	7	2	21=100
*March, 1992	11	18	15	6	29	21=100
d. Al Gore	22	44	15	5	2	12=100
*July, 1992[5]	15	32	14	5	6	28=100

***Based on total sample**

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[5] 461 respondents asked 7/9/92 only

[6]Q.16 In what ways do you have a better opinion of Bill Clinton than you had a few months ago? PROBE: Can you be more specific? **(PROBE FOR SPECIFICS, NO ONE WORD ANSWERS)**

*36	Learned more about him/Platform
12	Choice of Gore as running mate
**11	Better of two evils
*11	Increased media exposure
*10	Convention speech was good
**8	Disillusionment with Bush/Republicans
6	Staying power/Withstood negative press
6	Sincere/Fighting for what he believes
6	Gut reaction/More confident
5	Not aware rating changed
2	Humble roots/Made something of himself
1	Pro-Choice/Abortion rights
1	Not as liberal as first thought
50	**NET: exposure**
19	**NET: backhanded**
3	Other
7	Don't know/No answer
(375)	

[7]Q.17 In what ways do you have a worse opinion of Bill Clinton than you had a few months ago? PROBE: Can you be more specific? **(PROBE FOR SPECIFICS, NO ONE WORD ANSWERS)**

42	Gut reaction/Less confident
18	Not aware rating changed
10	Too much of a politician
6	No stand/Plan/Developed programs
5	Pro-choice/Abortion
4	Goes back and forth on issues
4	More liberal than first thought
1	Afraid he'll spend too much
8	Other
5	Don't know/No answer
(130)	

*Make up NET: exposure
**Make up NET: backhanded

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[6] Asked of people who gave Clinton a higher favorability rating in the current survey than in response to the June survey.

[7] Asked of people who gave Clinton a lower favorability rating in the current survey than in response to the June survey.

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE BUSH IN Q.3 OR Q.5 ASK:

Q.20 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for George Bush in the fall or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

Based on Total Respondents		May 1992
51	Chance might vote for him (voted for him in one of the preference questions)	55 (voted for him in one of the preference questions)
45	Decided not to vote for him	40
4	Can't say	5
100		100
		(1065)

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE CLINTON IN Q.3 OR Q.5 ASK:

Q.21 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Bill Clinton in the fall or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

Based on Total Respondents		May 1992
71	Chance might vote for him (voted for him in one of the preference questions)	56 (voted for him in one of the preference questions)
26	Decided not to vote for him	38
3	Can't say	6
100		100
		(1065)

Q.22 Do you think there is a chance that if George Bush is re-elected that conditions in this country will get better or don't you think so?

		May 1992
37	Yes chance	35
56	No chance	52
7	Don't know	13
100		100
		(1065)

Q.23 How much of a chance is there that if Bill Clinton is elected President that he would make major mistakes that would hurt the country? **(READ CATEGORIES 1-3)**

		May 1992
18	A big chance	16
55	Some chance	50
23	Hardly any chance	20
4	Can't say	14
100		100
		(1065)

Q.24 If by election time you were to decide that Bush and Clinton are about equally qualified for the job, who would you probably vote for?

42	George Bush
50	Bill Clinton
2	**(DO NOT READ)** Other
6	**(DO NOT READ)** Undecided
100	

JUST A FEW MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT POLITICS....

Q.25 Have heard some talk that George Bush might choose someone other than Dan Quayle as his running mate?

76	Yes
23	No
1	Don't know
100	

Q.26 Suppose George Bush were to name General Colin Powell as his Vice Presidential running mate, who would you vote for? George Bush and Colin Powell the Republicans, or Bill Clinton and Al Gore the Democrats?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q.26 ASK:
Q.27 As of today, do you lean more to Bush and Powell the Republicans, or more to Clinton and Gore the Democrats?

41	Bush/Powell
55	Clinton/Gore
4	**(DO NOT READ)** Other/Undecided
100	

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Times Mirror
Center for
The People &
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NEWS Release

1875 Eye Street, N.W., Suite 1110
Washington, D.C. 20006
202 293-3126

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FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1992, A.M.

The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92:

Survey XI

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"Family Values" Divide Republican Core

CLINTON MAINTAINS LEAD AS BUSH CAMPAIGN STRUGGLES

Bill Clinton is in as solid a position with American voters as was George Bush four years ago at this time. The Arkansas Governor's 53% to 38% lead over President Bush has stabilized and his support is as firm as Bush's was in September of 1988.

The Republican Convention and campaign have thus far failed to make any dent in the two roadblocks that, in the minds of voters, appear to bar a GOP victory: most Americans continue to think there is little chance that conditions in the country will improve if George Bush is re-elected. Conversely, few voters seem worried that Bill Clinton would make major mistakes if elected to the White House.

The Bush campaign's emphasis on family values appears thus far to have backfired. The theme is antagonizing as many voters as it attracts. It appears, significantly, to be hurting the President's chances with the younger voters and better educated people who have until recently given Bush more support than other groups throughout his term and through much of the campaign. The poll also finds that many core Republicans and Independent-leaning Republicans see Bush as more conservative on family values and sexual issues than they themselves are.

Clinton's principal vulnerability at this point is the extent to which his support is based on disapproval of Bush. A slim majority of Clinton supporters continue to see themselves as anti-Bush rather than pro-Clinton. Nevertheless, the Democratic challenger is far better liked personally than he was during the primary campaign.

Clinton's lead over Bush in the latest ***Times Mirror*** voter survey is almost as large as it was in the first week of August. The Clinton/Gore ticket leads Bush/Quayle by a 53% to 38% margin among a sample of 1175 registered voters. In early August, Times Mirror found marginally higher support for the Clinton/Gore ticket, which was favored at that time over the GOP ticket by a 57% to 37% margin.

As in the summer, most voters continue to say they are only moderate supporters of either candidate; but Clinton's support is on balance firmer than Bush's. Nearly half of the challenger's backers say they are strong supporters of the Arkansas governor (25% of 53%), compared to more moderate support for the President (14% of 38%).

Clinton's support is now as strong as Bush's was at the same point in 1988, while Bush's current support is about as soft as Michael Dukakis' was in early September.

STRENGTH OF CANDIDATE PREFERENCES
1992 VS. 1988

Sept. '88		Sept. '92	
Dukakis	44	Bush	38
Strong	19	Strong	14
Moderate	25	Moderate	24
Bush	50	Clinton	53
Strong	26	Strong	25
Moderate	24	Moderate	28

At this point, Bush's only advantage over Clinton is that his support is more positive than his challenger's. A 20% to 16% plurality of Bush backers are pro-Bush rather than anti-Clinton. Clinton supporters divide more negatively: 29% are anti-Bush, while 21% are pro-Clinton.

Four years ago Bush's support was on balance positive, as was Reagan's in 1984. However, Reagan's support in his victorious 1980 campaign was divided about equally between people who were mostly voting for him and those voting mostly against Carter.

Clinton's coalition includes overwhelming support from core Democratic groups, as well as significant levels of support from voter groups that have voted Republican in recent presidential elections.

Demographically, Clinton garners the support of nearly nine in ten Democrats, eight in ten African Americans, and he has a two-to-one margin among voters from households with annual incomes below $20,000. The Clinton campaign has also produced an even split with Bush among voters from affluent and middle-income households and leads the President among white voters and among political independents.

Bill Clinton bests Bush by nearly a two-to-one margin among big city voters, but he also has a solid lead in the suburbs and in non-metropolitan areas.

Clinton leads Bush among white Catholic voters, and among white male voters, but trails the President among white ***Southern*** male voters and among white Protestants.

The South is the only part of the country where the election contest is close at this time. Clinton appears to have lost some ground in his home region since August. The Arkansas Governor enjoys his largest margin over the President in the West.

(See Appendix 1)

Family Values Divide GOP

Unlike four years ago when Bush's early September campaign efforts unified all of his core groups, his current strategy is having the opposite effect. While the family values emphasis appears to have increased the President's core support among social agenda ***"Moralist"*** Republicans, it has done little to attract socially moderate, yet economically conservative ***"Enterpriser"*** Republicans and independent ***"Upbeats"*** who until recently leaned heavily to the Republican party.

Since August support for Bush has climbed to nearly ninety percent among the Moralist Republicans. However, the President has made no gains in support among Enterprisers. Nor has he made any inroads with Upbeats, who are young moderate independents that lean to the GOP. Bush continues to trail Clinton by a 37% to 48% margin among this voting bloc that gave him very strong support in 1988 and supported Ronald Reagan before him.

The President does equally poorly among another critical independent group that in the past has played an important part in the GOP's winning coalition, the ***"Disaffected"*** voters. Bush trails Clinton 34% to 49% among this financially hard-pressed group of voters who are critical and suspicious of most American institutions.

CANDIDATE PREFERENCE**
BY TYPOLOGY GROUP

	JULY 29-AUG 1, 1992		*SEPT 10-13, 1992*	
	BUSH	***CLINTON***	***BUSH***	***CLINTON***
TOTAL	36	57	38	53
ENTERPRISERS	81	14	80	13
MORALISTS	75	22	88	7
UPBEATS	40	48	37	48
DISAFFECTEDS	31	59	34	49
SECULARS	11	79	15	77
60'S DEMOCRATS	2	93	9	84
NEW DEALERS	12	87	16	78
POCKET BOOK DEMOCRATS	4	93	10	86
BYSTANDERS/ OTHER	33	60	29	58

**Includes Leaners.

The Bush campaign has succeeded in defining itself as having more traditional family and sexual values than Bill Clinton. But it has also positioned itself to the right of the average American voter on this dimension. The electorate places its own views on family and sexual issues midway between perceptions of Bush and Clinton's positions. Many voters who see themselves as more tolerant than George Bush or Dan Quayle have supported or at least leaned to the Republican party. ***Pluralities of voters under 50 years of age, college educated voters and voters in the West think that Bill Clinton's way of thinking about these issues comes closer to their own views than do George Bush's.***

In typological terms, while most Moralists see their views as closer to Bush's than to Clinton's, most Enterprisers see themselves as more tolerant than Bush. As many as 25% of these rock ribbed Republicans see Clinton as closer to their way of thinking on family values than Bush. ***Upbeats and Disaffecteds see their family values falling somewhere between Bush's and Clinton's. As many as 42% of the young Upbeats think that they have less traditional views of family and sexual issues than does the President.***

VIEWS ABOUT SEX AND FAMILY VALUES

	RATED OWN VIEWS:			
	*Closer To Clinton Than Bush**	*Closer To Bush Than Clinton*	*Neither*	*N*
	%	%	%	
Total	36	30	34	(1175)
Sex				
Male	37	30	33	(582)
Female	35	30	35	(593)
Race				
White	35	32	34	(1008)
Black	42	21	37	(106)
Age				
18-29	41	31	28	(206)
30-49	39	30	30	(508)
50+	30	30	40	(454)
Education				
College Grad.	46	30	24	(400)
Some College	34	33	32	(309)
H.S. Graduate	34	34	32	(355)
< H.S. Grad.	27	18	55	(107)
Income				
$50,000+	37	35	28	(289)
$30,000-$49,999	36	35	29	(275)
$20,000-$29,999	36	30	34	(227)
< $20,000	37	23	39	(274)
Region				
East	40	31	29	(222)
Midwest	34	28	38	(319)
South	31	33	35	(426)
West	42	27	31	(208)
Party Affiliation				
Republican	22	48	30	(347)
Democrat	46	18	36	(406)
Independent	37	29	33	(384)
Type of Community				
City	42	27	31	(361)
Suburb	35	34	32	(524)
Non-metro	31	29	40	(290)

	RATED OWN VIEWS:			
	Closer To Clinton Than Bush	*Closer To Bush Than Clinton*	*Neither*	*N*
	%	%	%	
Other Groups				
White Males	36	33	31	(499)
Southern White Males	30	36	34	(171)
White Catholics	35	31	35	(248)
White Protestants	30	36	34	(606)
Typology Groups				
Enterprisers	25	46	29	(160)
Moralists	16	53	32	(151)
Upbeats	30	37	33	(106)
Disaffecteds	32	30	38	(196)
Seculars	70	9	21	(127)
60's Democrats	49	17	33	(94)
New Dealers	40	21	39	(55)
Pocket Book Dems	40	19	41	(191)
Bystanders/Other	36	31	34	(95)

Respondent gave self a rating on 6-point scale closer to rating given to Clinton than rating given to Bush (See Q.26).

Although the Bush campaign has been successful in defining itself as socially conservative, it has made no progress in increasing the percentage of American voters who think there is at least ***some chance*** that conditions in the country will improve, if the President is re-elected. As in August, and throughout the earlier campaign only slightly more than one in three voters believe that the country can improve under a second Bush administration. While pessimism about Bush's ability to bring about change is most extensive among Democrats, majorities of political independents see no chance that things will get better if the President is re-elected. A 55% majority of ***Disaffecteds*** subscribe to this view, as do 46% of ***Upbeats*** and 70% of ***Seculars***.

At the same time the percentage of Americans remains low (18%) who think there is a ***big chance*** that Clinton will make major mistakes if elected. Even among Republicans, only one in three thinks there is a great chance that Clinton will harm the country should he win the White House.

Clinton Image Improvement

Since the Spring the electorate has reversed itself as to which presidential candidate is more personally likeable. A late March poll found a 43% to 33% plurality thinking that Bush was personally more likeable than Clinton. In contrast, Times Mirror's latest survey finds decidedly more voters liking Clinton (49%) than Bush (32%).

DEMOGRAPHIC TREND IN CANDIDATE LIKEABILITY

	Bush Personally Likeable			Clinton Personally Likeable		
	Mar 92	Sept 92	Diff.	Mar 92	Sept 92	Diff.
	%	%		%	%	
Total	44	32	-12	33	49	+16
Sex						
Male	45	34	-11	34	49	+15
Female	43	29	-14	31	49	+18
Race						
White	46	33	-13	31	46	+15
Black	28	14	-14	50	71	+21
Age						
18-29	52	29	-23	32	58	+26
30-49	46	31	-15	31	49	+18
50+	36	33	- 3	36	45	+ 9
Education						
College Grad.	47	27	-20	27	51	+24
Some College	50	30	-20	30	49	+19
H.S. Graduate	42	33	- 9	35	49	+14
< H.S. Grad.	36	37	+1	39	44	+ 5
Income						
$50,000+	52	34	-18	24	47	+23
$30,000-$49,999	43	38	- 5	36	44	+ 8
$20,000-$29,999	41	30	-11	28	54	+26
< $20,000	42	28	-14	39	54	+15
Region						
East	44	31	-13	31	48	+17
Midwest	42	32	-10	34	45	+11
South	44	36	- 8	36	48	+12
West	48	24	-24	29	55	+26
Party Affiliation						
Republican	66	58	- 8	15	24	+ 9
Democrat	30	11	-19	48	72	+24
Independent	40	31	- 9	33	46	+13
Type of Community						
City		25			56	
Suburb		32			47	
Non-metro		37			44	

	Bush Personally Likeable			Clinton Personally Likeable		
	Mar 92 %	Sept 92 %	Diff.	Mar 92 %	Sept 92 %	Diff.
Other Groups						
White Males	46	35	-11	32	47	+15
Southern White Males	51	45	- 6	30	41	+11
White Catholics	42	35	- 7	34	45	+11
White Protestants	47	36	-11	30	43	+13
Typology Groups						
Enterprisers	67	58	- 9	16	27	+11
Moralists	63	63	0	17	16	- 1
Upbeats	54	40	-14	25	35	+10
Disaffecteds	41	35	- 6	33	42	+ 9
Seculars	28	12	-16	40	70	+30
60's Democrats	40	6	-34	35	73	+38
New Dealers	38	21	-17	34	58	+24
Pocket Book Dems	29	11	-18	52	72	+20
Bystanders/Other	40	26	-32	34	54	+20

Voters in all demographic and political groups profess to like Clinton more and Bush less than they did in the spring but Clinton has made more friends among young people, well-educated people, among members of his own party and in the West.

The Arkansas governor has also reduced the stature gap. Bush's margin over Clinton as the ***candidate who would use good judgment in a crisis*** is down from 68% vs. 15% to 53% vs. 28%. And Bush's margin as the ***more "intelligent" candidate*** has been reduced from 48% vs. 18% to a meager 34% vs. 30%. Bush and Clinton are now equally often named as the ***candidate who can best think long range*** (39% to 38%). In the earlier poll the President held a 49% to 27% advantage on this dimension.

Bush continues to be seen more often than Clinton as the ***"good family man"*** (50% to 22%) but, Bush's advantage over Clinton as the ***more "honest and truthful" candidate*** has dwindled from 46% vs. 18% to 34% vs. 30%.

Clinton's margin over Bush on the care and change dimensions has exploded since the spring. He leads Bush as the ***candidate who cares*** by a 49% to 26% margin, and as the ***candidate that can best bring about change*** by a 60% to 21% margin.

Bush and Quayle Given "C" Grades for Campaign

Not surprisingly, the electorate judges the campaign efforts of Bush and Quayle less positively than the Clinton, Gore efforts. On average, Americans give President Bush a "C" for his effort to convince them to vote for him. His running mate Dan Quayle is given an even lower grade of "C-". Clinton and Gore were awarded a "B" and "B-", respectively, for their efforts in wooing voters.

Bush's lack of progress and "C" grades notwithstanding, the poll finds that the campaign news stories and issues that have attracted the most public attention have focused on the President and not his challenger.

Thirty-seven percent said they followed ***very closely*** criticisms of the President for his handling of the emergency caused by Hurricane Andrew. The high level of penetration of this story seems to reflect interest in the Hurricane as much as criticism of the President, in that Republicans were as likely as Democrats to say they paid close attention to this story.

On a more exclusively campaign issue, 32% of the voter sample reported paying close attention to Bush's criticism of the Congress for blocking his efforts to bring about change. By way of comparison, only 19% said they followed very closely Clinton's claims that he would be able to break the logjam in Washington. The Bush campaign is not only getting penetration on this theme, but also some degree of acceptance. Forty-six percent of voters who have followed news about this issue think that Congress is more to blame for not getting things done, while 40% put the blame with the President. This is a unifying theme for the GOP that draws very high levels of support from both Republicans (82%) and Independents who lean Republican (80%).

Bush's plan to improve the economy by cutting taxes and government spending was followed very closely by 28% of the electorate. Almost as many (23%) said they paid close attention to Bill Clinton's charges that Bush spending cuts would hurt elderly voters. Nearly six in ten voters questioned agreed with Clinton's criticisms. Penetration on Clinton's concerns about the impact of Bush spending cuts on the elderly was markedly higher among those 50 & older.

One in four (23%) said they have paid close attention to the debate about which political party best represents American family values. One in five said they had paid close attention to the controversy about Bill Clinton's Vietnam draft record.

Just one in seven voters said they had paid close attention to the debate about Clinton's Arkansas tax record (14%), Republican charges that Al Gore holds radical positions on the environment (14%) and Republican criticisms of Hillary Clinton (13%).

An overwhelming proportion of voters who followed Republican criticisms of Hillary Clinton (73%) disagreed with those criticisms. 59% who followed charges that Gore took radical positions disagreed with those charges. And voters tended to agree more with the Democrats (52%) than the Republicans as to how much Clinton raised taxes as Governor of Arkansas.

Perot Persists

Nearly one in three former Perot supporters[1] say they would ***very likely*** vote for the enigmatic billionaire, if he were to reconsider his decision and declare himself a candidate. Twenty-eight percent said they would be ***fairly likely***, while 40% said they would not be likely to vote for him in any event.

With his name on most state ballots Perot could make an impact on the Presidential race, particularly if voters were to become disillusioned with the candidates. The poll finds that inclination to vote for Perot increases to 39% among former supporters who give both Bush and Clinton bad campaign grades. The survey also indicates that Clinton might suffer more in the eventuality of a substantial Perot vote. Former Perot supporters who say they would be very likely to vote for the Texas businessman, now support Clinton over Bush by almost a two to one margin.

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[1] 33% of all registered voters

APPENDIX 1

DEMOGRAPHIC TREND IN PRESIDENTIAL SUPPORT

	Bush		*Clinton*		*Other/Undecided*		
	8/92	*Curr*	*8/92*	*Curr*	*8/92*	*Curr*	*N*
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	37	38	58	53	6	9	(1175)
Sex							
Male	35	40	58	52	7	9	(582)
Female	37	36	57	55	6	9	(593)
Race							
White	39	40	55	50	6	9	(1008)
Black	6	13	89	77	5	10	(106)
Age							
18-29	35	36	60	61	5	3	(206)
30-49	35	39	59	54	6	7	(508)
50+	38	38	55	49	7	13	(454)
Education							
College Grad.	42	37	53	56	5	7	(400)
Some College	38	42	54	49	9	8	(309)
H.S. Graduate	35	36	59	54	6	10	(355)
< H.S. Grad.	28	34	66	54	6	11	(107)
Income							
$50,000+	42	48	53	46	6	6	(289)
$30,000-$49,999	37	46	58	48	5	6	(275)
$20,000-$29,999	33	32	63	57	5	11	(227)
< $20,000	32	29	61	62	7	9	(274)
Region							
East	33	35	60	55	7	10	(222)
Midwest	37	38	56	53	8	9	(319)
South	38	44	57	50	5	7	(426)
West	38	30	57	57	5	13	(208)
Party Affiliation							
Republican	77	81	20	13	3	6	(347)
Democrat	4	10	92	85	4	5	(406)
Independent	30	31	58	55	11	13	(384)
Type of Community							
City		33		59		9	(361)
Suburb		39		51		10	(524)
Non-metro		41		51		9	(290)

	Bush		Clinton		Other/Undecided		
	8/92	Curr	8/92	Curr	8/92	Curr	N
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Other Groups							
White Males		42		49		9	(499)
Southern White Males		52		40		9	(171)
White Catholics		38		56		6	(248)
White Protestants		47		44		10	(605)

Survey Methodology

The survey results are based on telephone interviews of 1,175 registered voters from a nationwide survey of adults 18 years and older conducted September 10-13, 1992.

For results based on the total sample of registered voters, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 4 percentage points. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE TIMES MIRROR TYPOLOGY

In 1987 Times Mirror developed a unique voter classification scheme that divided the electorate on the basis of political values, party identification and measures of political participation. Since its inception Times Mirror has conducted numerous nationwide surveys using this political typology, the most recent of which was reported in ***THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS & POLITICS - 1990***. The typology was developed for administration by personal interview in that it requires about 15 minutes of interviewing time to ask the full battery of questions.

Over the past year the ***Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press*** has developed a modified form of the Times Mirror Typology that is suitable for telephone interviewing in that it requires many fewer questions. It also divides the public into fewer groups (9 vs. 11) and therefore can be used with more limited sample size surveys. It is our intention to utilize the modified typology scheme on each of our pre-election surveys in 1992. While this form of the typology does not offer the full analytical richness of the original scheme, we think it continues to be an important and highly useful way of looking at the electorate.

The modified typology is based on the important concepts about the homogeneity of various voting groups that we uncovered in our earlier research.

There are two core Republican groups:

Enterprisers: Enterprisers are fiscal conservatives who hold positive attitudes toward business and are anti-welfarist. They are affluent, well-educated and well-informed. Enterprisers are much less likely than other Americans to agree with the popular notion that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer (43% vs. 81%). Their pro-business stance leads them to differ with most Americans on the idea that too much power is concentrated in the hands of big companies. While 82% of other Americans feel that this is true, only 48% of Enterprisers agree. Enterprisers are also less likely to completely agree that society should make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity (55% vs. 41%).

Moralists: Moralists are highly religious, socially conservative and show low levels of concern for personal freedoms. They are less affluent, older, and many live in the South. A vast majority of Moralists agree that books with dangerous ideas should be banned from public schools, which sets them firmly to the right of the rest of the public on the issue of censorship (89% vs. 39%).

There are three core Democratic groups:

Sixties Democrats: Sixties Democrats are strong believers in peace and social justice. More than any other segment of the population, they disagree with the idea that the best way to preserve peace is through military strength (88% vs. 44%). And two-thirds (65%) of Sixties Democrats completely agree that society should guarantee everyone an equal opportunity. This is a heavily female, middle class, middle-aged group that supports most of the policy positions of the national Democratic party.

New Dealers: New Dealers are older Democrats who experience little financial pressure and are more socially conservative than the national Democratic Party. Drawn heavily from the South, many of these old-time Democrats have party roots that go back to Roosevelt. Despite the end of the Cold War, New Dealers still universally agree that the best way to insure peace is through military strength (96%[2]).

Pocketbook Democrats: Pocketbook Dems overwhelmingly agree that they don't have enough money to make ends meet (98%). They are very concerned with social justice, and they believe that government should take an active role in the solution of the socio-economic problems that plague them. One-third of Pocketbook Dems are minorities (32%), and many have less than a high school education.

There are three typology groups that are basically Independent:

Seculars: Seculars lean to the Democratic party, but some identify more closely with the GOP on certain issues. They are strongly supportive of personal freedoms. Seculars are well-informed, relatively affluent, and more often found on the East and West coasts. Their defining characteristic is an almost total lack of religious conviction. While 87% of the rest of the public says that prayer is an important part of their daily life, only one in ten (12%) Seculars hold this view. Their support for personal freedoms is best reflected in their feelings about censorship: 97% disagree with banning books containing dangerous ideas from public school libraries, compared with 48% of other Americans.

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[2] Based on combined survey results from November 1991 and January 1992.

Two of the Independent groups lean to the Republican party:

Disaffecteds: Disaffecteds are personally alienated, financially pressured and deeply skeptical of politicians. This middle-aged, lower-middle income group contains many blue collar workers. Disaffecteds are nearly twice as likely as others to agree that hard work offers little guarantee of success (69% vs. 36%). Their political distrust is such that three-quarters (77%) disagree that elected officials care what people like them think.

Upbeats: Upbeats are also independents who lean to the GOP, but their attitudinal profile is almost the opposite of Disaffecteds. Upbeats are primarily young people who tend to be uncritical of government and other institutions. They also have American Exceptionalist values: 88% of Upbeats agree that Americans can always solve their problems, while only 55% of others agree.

Finally, there is one typology group that is by definition apolitical:

Bystanders: Bystanders have an almost total lack of interest in politics and public affairs. This urban, lower socio-economic group contains many young singles. Forty-six percent of Bystanders say they seldom vote.

The table below shows the percentage of the survey respondents in each typology group for this survey.

	PERCENT
Enterprisers	12
Moralists	12
Upbeats	9
Disaffecteds	17
Bystanders/Other	14
Seculars	10
60's Democrats	7
New Dealers	4
Pocketbook Dems.	15

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
NATIONAL POLITICAL SURVEY #11
September 10-13, 1992
N=1,508

INTRODUCTION: Hello, we are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

Q.13 How much thought have you given to the coming Presidential election quite a lot or only a little?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

			Gallup	
		June 1992	Aug 1988	Sept. 1984
63	Quite a lot	63	61	57
3	Some (VOL)	6	10	18
31	Little	29	27	23
2	None	1	2	2
1	Can't say	1	0	0
100		100	100	100
(1175)		(2594)	(1000)	(938)

Q.14 If the presidential election were being held today, would you vote for the Republican ticket of George Bush and Dan Quayle or for the Democratic ticket of Bill Clinton and Al Gore?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q.14 ASK:

Q.16 As of today, do you lean more to Bush and Quayle the Republicans or more to Clinton and Gore the Democrats?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

		July 29- Aug 1 1992	July 22-26 1992	July 29- Aug 2 1992	June 1992	May 1992	Mar 1992
38	Bush/Quayle	37	31	32	45	46	50
53	Clinton/Gore	57	58	57	41	43	43
9	Other/Undecided	6	11	11	14	11	7
100		100	100	100	100	100	100
(1175)		(1023)	(743)	(792)	(2594)	(1065)	(557)

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' GEORGE BUSH OR '2' BILL CLINTON IN Q.14 ASK:

Q.15 Do you support **(INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.14)** strongly or only moderately?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

		July 29 Aug 1 1992
38	Bush/Quayle	37
14	Strong	14
24	Weak	23
53	Clinton/Gore	57
25	Strong	24
28	Weak	33

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q.14 AND Q.16, SKIP TO Q.18

Q.17 Would you say that your choice is more a vote for (CANDIDATE FROM Q.14/16) or more a vote against (OTHER CANDIDATE)?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

		July 29 Aug 1 1992
38	Bush/Quayle	37
20	Bush/Quayle-positive	20
16	Bush/Quayle-anti-Clinton	16
2	Bush/Quayle-can't say	1
53	Clinton/Gore	57
21	Clinton/Gore-positive	27
29	Clinton/Gore-anti-Bush	28
3	Clinton/Gore-can't say	2

Q.18 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' IN Q.18 ASK:

Q.19 How certain are you that you will vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

		July 29 Aug 1 1992	June 1992
98	Yes	97	97
85	Absolutely certain	89	88
11	Fairly certain	8	8
2	Not certain	*	1
1	No	1	1
1	Can't say	2	2
100		100	100
(1175)		(1023)	(2594)

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE BUSH IN Q.14 OR Q.16 ASK:

Q.20 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for George Bush in the fall or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

		July 29 Aug 1 1992	May 1992	
50	Chance might vote for him	51	55	(voted for him in one of the preference questions)
44	Decided not to vote for him	45	40	
6	Can't say	4	5	
10		100	100	
(1175)		(1023)	(1065)	

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE CLINTON IN Q.14 OR Q.16 ASK:

Q.21 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Bill Clinton in the fall or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

		July 29 Aug 1 1992	May 1992	
66	Chance might vote for him	71	56	(voted for him in one of the preference questions)
28	Decided not to vote for him	26	38	
6	Can't say	3	6	
100		100	100	
(1175)		(1023)	(1065)	

ASK ALL:

Q.22 As I read a list of phrases tell me if you think this phrase better describes George Bush or if it better describes Bill Clinton? **(ROTATE)**

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	George Bush	Bill Clinton	VOL--------- Both	Neither	DK	
a. Would use good judgment in a crisis	53	28	8	3	8=100	(1175)
March, 1992	68	15	4	4	9=100	(557)
b. Personally likable	32	49	13	3	3=100	
March, 1992	43	33	14	5	5=100	
c. A typical politician	41	29	24	1	5=100	
March, 1992	34	38	22	2	4=100	
d. Can bring about change	21	60	4	7	8=100	
March, 1992	30	47	5	11	7=100	
e. Honest and truthful	34	30	6	21	9=100	
March, 1992	46	18	5	20	11=100	
f. Can think long range	39	38	7	5	11=100	
March, 1992	49	27	4	8	12=100	
g. Is a good family man	50	22	18	2	8=100	
March, 1992	73	9	7	2	9=100	
h. Intelligent	34	30	28	3	5=100	
March, 1992	48	18	26	3	5=100	
i. Cares about people like me	26	49	8	10	7=100	
March, 1992	33	37	4	16	10=100	

Q.23 What grade would you give George Bush as to how good a job he is doing in convincing you to vote for him. Would you grade his election campaign:. A, B, C, D, or F. (ROTATE)

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

A (1) B (2) C (3) D (4) F (5) DK

	Average Grade	Mean
a. George Bush	C	2.94
b. Bill Clinton	B	2.41
c. Al Gore	B-	2.59
d. Dan Quayle	C	3.42

Q.24 Do you think there is a chance that if George Bush is re-elected that conditions in this country will get better or don't you think so?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

		July 29 Aug 1 1992	May 1992
38	Yes chance	37	35
54	No chance	56	52
8	Don't know	7	13
100		100	100
(1175)		(1023)	(1065)

Q.25 How much of a chance is there that if Bill Clinton is elected President that he would make major mistakes that would hurt the country? (READ CATEGORIES 1-3)

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

		July 29 Aug 1 1992	May 1992
18	A big chance	18	16
55	Some chance	55	50
22	Hardly any chance	23	20
5	Can't say	4	14
100		100	100
(1175)		(1023)	(1065)

Q.26 If 6 represents someone who has a very traditional point of view about family and sexual matters and 1 represents someone who takes a very tolerant point of view on these issues where would you place yourself on this scale of 6 to 1. Where would you place George Bush, where would you place Bill Clinton, where would you place Dan Quayle?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

6 5 4 3 2 1 DK

	AVERAGE RATING
Self	3.81
George Bush	4.39
Bill Clinton	3.15
Dan Quayle	4.30

	Summary of Self vs Bush...	Summary of Self vs Clinton...
More traditional than Bush/Clinton	23	41
Less traditional than Bush/Clinton	39	22
Same as Bush/Clinton	28	25
Other	10	12
	100	100

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY

Rated self closer to Clinton than Bush	36
Self closer to Bush than Clinton	30
Other	34
	100

Q.27 I'd like to ask you a few more questions about presidential election campaign news stories. How closely have you followed news about...
READ RESPONSE CATEGORIES AFTER EACH ITEM: (ROTATE)

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK	
FORM 1						
a. Republican criticisms of Hillary Clinton	13	27	35	23	2=100	(575)
FORM 2						
b. Bill Clinton and Al Gore's campaign tours by bus	20	36	29	15	*=100	(600)
FORM 1						
c. The dispute between the Bush and Clinton campaigns over Governor Clinton's tax record in Arkansas	14	36	30	18	2=100	
FORM 2						
d. Criticism of President Bush's handling of the emergency caused by Hurricane Andrew	37	44	13	5	1=100	
FORM 1						
e. George Bush's plan to improve the economy by cutting government spending and cutting taxes	28	44	18	9	1=100	
FORM 2						
f. Bill Clinton's charges that Bush government spending cuts would hurt elderly voters	23	35	28	12	2=100	
FORM 1						
g. The debate about which political party best represents American family values	23	43	21	11	2=100	
FORM 2						
h. Republican charges that Al Gore's positions on the environment are radical	14	24	35	24	3=100	
FORM 1						
i. Bill Clinton's claims that he would be able to break the log jam in Washington and bring about change	19	47	19	14	1=100	

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

	Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK
FORM 2					
j. George Bush's claims that the Congress has blocked his efforts to bring about change	32	41	19	7	1=100
FORM 1					
k. The controversy about Bill Clinton's Vietnam draft record	19	34	27	18	2=100

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' VERY CLOSELY OR '2' FAIRLY CLOSELY TO ITEM A IN Q. 27 ASK:
FORM 1

Q.28 Do you mostly agree or mostly disagree with Republican criticisms of Hillary Clinton?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

15	Mostly agree
73	Mostly disagree
12	Can't say
100	
(234)	

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' VERY CLOSELY OR '2' FAIRLY CLOSELY TO ITEM C IN Q.27 ASK:
FORM 1

Q.29 Do you mostly agree with the Republicans or mostly agree with Democrats about how much Governor Clinton has raised taxes as the Governor of Arkansas?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

29	Mostly agree with Republicans
52	Mostly agree with Democrats
19	Can't say
100	
(307)	

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' VERY CLOSELY OR '2' FAIRLY CLOSELY TO ITEM F IN Q.27 ASK: FORM 2

Q.30 Do you mostly agree or mostly disagree with Bill Clinton's charges that George Bush's proposed spending cuts would hurt elderly voters?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

59	Mostly agree
32	Mostly disagree
9	Can't say
100	
(349)	

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' VERY CLOSELY OR '2' FAIRLY CLOSELY TO ITEM H IN Q.27 ASK: FORM 2

Q.31 Do you mostly agree or mostly disagree with Republican charges that Al Gore's environmental positions are radical?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

31	Mostly agree
59	Mostly disagree
10	Can't say
100	
(249)	

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' VERY CLOSELY OR '2' FAIRLY CLOSELY TO ITEM I OR J IN Q.27 ASK:

Q.32 Who would you say is more responsible for things not getting done in Washington the Democratically controlled Congress or the Bush Administration?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

46	Congress
40	Bush
14	Can't Say
100	
(832)	

Q.41 At any point this year, did you consider yourself a supporter of H. Ross Perot?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

33	Yes
65	No
2	Don't know
100	
(1175)	

Q.41a If H. Ross Perot were to reconsider his decision and declare himself a candidate for president how likely would you be to vote for him in November? **(READ CATEGORIES 1-4)**

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

12	Very likely
12	Fairly likely
17	Not too likely
57	Not at all likely
2	Can't say
100	
(1175)	

DO NOT ROTATE ITEMS:

Q.900 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)**

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	(VOL) Don't Know
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does	19	35	30	15	1=100
b. Most elected officials care what people like me think	7	36	38	17	2=100
c. Hard work offers little guarantee of success	16	29	28	24	3=100
d. The Federal Government controls too much of our daily lives	33	36	21	7	3=100
e. The government is really run for the benefit of all the people	9	31	37	21	2=100
f. There is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few big companies	37	41	15	4	3=100
g. As Americans we can always find a way to solve our problems and get what we want	16	42	27	13	2=100
h. Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed	53	35	7	3	2=100
i. The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt	21	32	28	14	5=100

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	(VOL) Don't Know
j. The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	18	36	28	15	3=100
k. Prayer is an important part of my daily life	50	29	12	8	1=100
l. Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries	26	20	22	29	3=100
m. There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil that apply to everyone regardless of their situation	28	39	17	11	5=100
n. Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer	44	35	15	5	1=100
o. I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	28	29	27	14	2=100
p. I'm interested in keeping up with national affairs	36	47	11	4	2=100
q. I feel guilty when I don't get a chance to vote	47	27	12	10	4=100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT..

Q.901 How often would you say you vote; always, nearly always, part of the time, or seldom?

42	Always
30	Nearly always
12	Part of the time
13	Seldom
1	**(DO NOT READ)** Other **(SPECIFY)**
2	**(DO NOT READ)** Never vote
*	Don't know/no answer
100	

Times Mirror
Center for
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The Press

N E W S Release

1875 Eye Street N.W. Suite 1110
Washington, D.C. 20006
202/293-3126

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92:

Air Wars

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202/293-3126

Air Wars Score Card - October 8, 1992

PUBLIC TUNES BUSH OUT

George Bush is losing the air wars to challengers Bill Clinton and Ross Perot. While the President may be getting as much media coverage and buying as much advertising as his rivals, voters this past week say they have heard most about Clinton and Perot.

A ***Times Mirror Center*** nationwide survey of 796 registered voters conducted October 2-6 found 33% reporting that they had heard most about Clinton in the media, 33% about Perot and only 18% said they had heard most about Bush on TV, radio and in the newspapers.

Bush's failure to register with the electorate this past week is underscored by the fact that even among Republicans more say they have been hearing about Perot (38%) or Clinton (27%) than Bush (21%). Perhaps more significantly, the President is also losing the air wars in the acknowledged battleground states[1]. In these states, taken as a whole, 37% say they have heard most about Perot, 27% Clinton and 23% Bush.

The current findings reflect the impact of Ross Perot's re-entry into the race. A week earlier (polling Sept. 25-29) 40% of voters said they had heard most about Bill Clinton, 29% George Bush and only 19% mentioned Ross Perot at a time when a great deal of reporting focused on when and whether the billionaire businessman would rejoin the race.

Perot Adds Detractors

Although voters this past week say they have been hearing more about Ross Perot, they also say they have been liking him less. Seventeen percent of Times Mirror's sample volunteered that in the past few days they had come to have a ***less favorable*** opinion of Perot, 12% made these observations about Bush and 9% Clinton.

Clinton offset this percentage with 9% of voters who said they had come to have a ***more favorable*** opinion of the Democratic candidate in the past few days. There were not comparable offsets for either Perot or Bush. Just 1% said that they had become more positive about Perot and 3% for Bush.

Again the President does not appear to be helping himself in the battleground states - 2% volunteered they had come to have a more favorable opinion of Bush in the past few days, while 12% said they had become less favorable. Clinton scored 11% more favorable and 10% less favorable in these states as a whole.

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[1] New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, North Carolina, Michigan, Florida, and Texas.

Clinton Ads Get Better Voter Reviews

Two in three American voters say they have seen ads for George Bush (68%) and Bill Clinton (64%) in the past week. Voters who report exposure to the political commercials judge Clinton's commercials to be more truthful and more convincing than do those exposed to Bush commercials. But neither camp's commercials are extolled by voters.

A majority of voters (51%) exposed to Clinton's commercials think they are basically truthful, while 35% think they are not. However, in Bush's case most (50%) feel the commercials are ***not truthful*** and only 38% thinks they are "all in all" telling the truth.

These findings mirror the grades voters gave the candidates' commercials a week ago. In the Sept 25-29 survey voters who said they had seen the ads graded Clinton's commercials a C and Bush's commercials a C- as to presenting convincing reasons to vote for the candidates. In that poll as many as 31% gave Bush's ads a flunking grade or "F", while 16% so graded Clinton's commercials. Conversely, relatively few voters gave "A" or "B" grades to Bush's commercials (25%) or to Clinton's (46%).

Clinton's commercials achieved higher than average penetration among men, middle aged voters, and among Midwesterners. Similarly, these same groups were more apt than others to report having seen Bush's ads in the past week.

CANDIDATE AWARENESS

(Which candidate heard most about in last week)
Oct. 2-6, 1992

	BUSH	*CLINTON*	*PEROT*	*N*
TOTAL	18	33	33	(796)
SEX				
Male	18	33	36	(402)
Female	19	33	30	(394)
AGE				
18-34	16	35	45	(256)
35-44	19	44	29	(219)
45-54	18	30	37	(130)
55-64	22	35	21	(77)
65+	21	19	22	(99)
REGION				
East	20	37	33	(157)
Midwest	16	32	34	(209)
South	22	36	29	(264)
West	15	25	39	(166)
Battleground States[2]	23	27	37	(250)
PARTY ID				
Republican	21	27	38	(256)
Democrat	21	42	27	(249)
Independent	15	32	37	(259)
RACE				
White	18	29	36	(667)
Black	20	50	17	(82)

---

[2] New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, North Carolina, Texas and Florida.

TRUTHFULNESS OF CLINTON ADS BY DEMOGRAPHICS

	Seen Clinton Ads In Past Few Days	*Clinton Ads Truthful*	*Clinton Ads Not Truthful*
TOTAL	64	51	35
SEX			
Male	70	53	37
Female	58	49	33
AGE			
18-34	55	55	40
35-44	63	51	34
45-54	71	56	32
55-64	76	44	38
65+	66	48	33
REGION			
East	71	51	33
Midwest	72	53	35
South	65	51	33
West	49	48	41
Battleground States[3]	71	58	32
PARTY ID			
Republican	60	31	52
Democrat	71	68	19
Independent	62	50	40
RACE			
White	64	47	39
Black	67	70	18

---

[3] New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, North Carolina, Texas & Florida

TRUTHFULNESS OF BUSH ADS BY DEMOGRAPHICS

	Seen Bush Ads In Past Few Days	Bush Ads Truthful	Bush Ads Not Truthful
TOTAL	68	38	50
SEX			
Male	73	39	51
Female	62	36	50
AGE			
18-34	60	46	48
35-44	65	38	52
45-54	83	36	51
55-64	75	28	58
65+	68	34	50
REGION			
East	67	43	48
Midwest	77	38	50
South	67	34	54
West	59	39	48
Battleground States[4]	75	38	54
PARTY ID			
Republican	64	70	20
Democrat	74	18	73
Independent	65	31	57
RACE			
White	68	41	48
Black	64	21	64

---

[4] New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, North Carolina, Texas & Florida

Survey Methodology

The survey results are based on telephone interviews of 784 registered voters from a nationwide survey of adults 18 years and older conducted September 25-29, 1992 and of 796 registered voters from a nationwide survey of adults 18 years and older conducted October 2-6, 1992.

For results based on either sample of registered voters, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 4 percentage points. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING SURVEY
September 25-29, 1992 (N=784)
October 2-6, 1992 (N=796)

INTRODUCTION: Hello, we are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

Q.1 Apart from whom you support, which presidential candidate have you heard the most about in the last week or so in newspapers, on television on radio? (DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)

Oct. 2-6:		Sept. 25-29:
18	George Bush	29
33	Bill Clinton	40
33	Ross Perot	19
6	None	6
10	DK/NA	6
100 (N=796)		100 (N=784)

Q2. In the past few days have you come to have a more favorable opinion of any of the candidates or haven't your opinions of the candidates changed lately?

IF MORE FAVORABLE ASK:
Q2a. Which candidate do you have a more favorable opinion of?

Oct. 2-6:		
14	Yes, more favorable	
	3	George Bush
	9	Bill Clinton
	1	Ross Perot
	1	DK/NA
83	Not changed	
3	Don't know/NA	
100		

Q3. In the past few days have you come to have a less favorable opinion of any of the candidates or not?

IF LESS FAVORABLE ASK:
Q3a. Which candidate do you have a less favorable opinion of?

Oct. 2-6:
40 Yes, less favorable
- 12 George Bush
- 9 Bill Clinton
- 17 Ross Perot
- 2 DK/NA

58 Not changed
2 Don't know/NA
100

Q.4 In the past few days have you seen any television commercials on behalf of **George Bush**'s candidacy?...Only tell me "yes" if you have seen paid commercials for Bush on tv in the past few days?

Q4a. All in all, do you think that George Bush's commercials are truthful or not?

Oct. 2-6:
68 Yes
- 38 Truthful
- 50 Not truthful
- 12 Don't know/NA
- 100

30 No
2 DK
100

Q.5 So far, have you seen any television commericals on behalf of George Bush's candidacy, or not?

Sept. 25-29:
78 Yes, have seen tv commercials
21 No, have not seen
1 Don't know
100

Q.5a What grade would you give these commercials as being a convincing reason to vote for George Bush? Would you grade them A, B, C, D or Flunk?

Sept. 25-29:

9	A
16	B
29	C
13	D
31	F
2	Don't know/NA
100 (N=620)	
(Mean of C-)	

Q6. In the past few days have you seen any television commercials on behalf of **Bill Clinton's** candidacy?...Only tell me "yes" if you have seen paid commercials for Clinton on tv in the past few days?

Q6a. All in all, do you think that Bill Clinton's commercials are truthful or not

Oct. 2-6:

64	Yes	
	51	Truthful
	35	Not truthful
	14	Don't know/NA
	100	
34	No	
2	DK	
100		

Q.7 So far, have you seen any television commericals on behalf of Bill Clinton's candidacy, or not?

Sept. 25-29:

75	Yes, have seen tv commercials
24	No, have not seen
1	Don't know
100	

Q.7a What grade would you give these commercials as being a convincing reason to vote for Bill Clinton? Would you grade them A, B, C, D, or Flunk?

Sept. 25-29:

16	A
30	B
27	C
8	D
16	F
3	Don't know/NA
100 (N=591)	
(Mean of C)	

Q.8 Do you think there is a chance that if George Bush is re-elected that conditions in this country will get better or don't you think so?

Sept. 25-29:

29	Yes, a chance
64	No chance
7	Don't know/NA
100	

CK115 4 19-F

Times Mirror
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NEWS Release

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92:

Air Wars II

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Air Wars Score Card 2 - October 15, 1992

CLINTON AND PEROT THE FOCUS OF VOTER ATTENTION

Bill Clinton and Ross Perot continue to command more voter attention than George Bush. Times Mirror's latest Air Wars Score Card finds 37% of American voters saying that in the past week they have heard the most in the media about Bill Clinton. Almost as many mention independent candidate Ross Perot (31%), while far fewer say they have heard the most about George Bush (16%) in newspapers, on tv and on the radio.

Perot's visibility has increased since Sunday's debate. In the portion of the poll conducted prior to the debate Perot trailed Clinton 24% to 38% on this measure, with Bush lagging behind at 19%. In post-debate interviewing Perot's visibility measure swelled to 33%. Bush's media profile slipped further to 16%. and Clinton was least affected at 37%.

The debate also seems to have stemmed negative voter reaction to Ross Perot. In the days just after his re-entry into the race 17% of Times Mirror respondents volunteered that they had developed a less favorable opinion of Perot, while only 1% said they had become more positive about Perot. In post-debate interviewing as part of the current survey, ***"more favorable"*** mentions of the third party candidate equaled ***"less favorable"*** mentions of him (10% to 9%).

In contrast, opinion about George Bush was souring even before the Sunday debate. Last weekend 25% of voters said that they had a less favorable opinion of the President, as the President attacked Bill Clinton's judgment for anti-war activities as a student. Following the debate 16% of the sample volunteered that they had a less favorable opinion of Bush.

Independent voters who are crucial to Bush's chance of catching Clinton have tuned the President out and report growing negative reaction to him. Just 14% of Independent voters say they have heard the most about Bush in the media recently (compared to 39% for Perot and 28% for Clinton). Nineteen percent of Independents volunteer that they had a less favorable opinion of Bush in recent days.

Penetration of Bush and Clinton's commercials remained at the same level as observed in Times Mirror's earlier survey (66% and 59% respectively). The poll also continues to show voters feeling that Bush's paid TV is less convincing than Clinton's. On average, voters who saw Bush's ads graded his commercials a C- for making a convincing case to vote for him. Clinton's ads were graded a C on average.

The survey found some indication that voters are less positive about Clinton's ads than earlier in the campaign. The percentage rating his ads D or F rose to 31% from 24% in the previous survey. However, this is still well below the 45% who gave the Bush ads the same low grades.

Survey Methodology

The survey results are based on telephone interviews of 826 registered voters from a nationwide survey of adults 18 years and older conducted October 9-13, 1992.

For results based on either sample of registered voters, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 4 percentage points. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING SURVEY
October 9-13, 1992
N=826

INTRODUCTION: Hello, we are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

Q.1 Apart from whom you support, which presidential candidate have you heard the most about in the last week or so in newspapers, on television on radio? (DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)

	October:				
	9-13/	Pre-deb/	Pst-deb[1]	Oct. 2-6:	Sept. 25-29:
George Bush	16	19	16	18	29
Bill Clinton	37	38	37	33	40
Ross Perot	31	24	33	33	19
Other/Undecided	16	19	14	16	12
	100	100	100	100	100
	(N=826)	(202)	(624)	(796)	(784)

---

[1] Note: Pre-debate interviewing dates were October 9-11 and Post-debate interviewing dates were October 11-13.

Q2. In the past few days have you come to have a more favorable opinion of any of the candidates or haven't your opinions of the candidates changed lately?

IF MORE FAVORABLE ASK:
Q2a. Which candidate do you have a more favorable opinion of?

	October:			
	9-13	Pre-deb	Pst-deb[2]	Oct. 2-6:
Yes, more favorable	21	17	22	14
George Bush	3	2	4	3
Bill Clinton	8	9	8	9
Ross Perot	9	5	10	1
DK/NA	1	1	*	1
Not changed	77	82	76	83
Don't know/NA	2	1	2	3
	100	100	100	100

Q3. In the past few days have you come to have a less favorable opinion of any of the candidates or not?

IF LESS FAVORABLE ASK:
Q3a. Which candidate do you have a less favorable opinion of?

	October:			
	9-13	Pre-deb	Pst-deb	Oct. 2-6:
Yes, less favorable	41	49	38	40
George Bush	18	25	16	12
Bill Clinton	12	13	12	9
Ross Perot	9	9	9	17
DK/NA	2	2	1	2
Not changed	57	49	60	58
Don't know/NA	2	2	2	2
	100	100	100	100

---

[2] Note: Pre-debate interviewing dates were October 9-11 and Post-debate interviewing dates were October 11-13.

Q.4 In the past few days have you seen any television commercials on behalf of **George Bush's** candidacy?...Only tell me "yes" if you have seen paid commercials for Bush on tv in the past few days?

Oct. 9-13:		Oct. 2-6:
66	Yes	68
32	No	30
2	DK	2
100		100

Q.5 What grade would you give these commercials as being a convincing reason to vote for George Bush? Would you grade them A. B, C, D or Flunk?

Oct. 9-13:		Sept. 25-29:
7	A	9
17	B	16
26	C	29
13	D	13
32	F	31
5	Don't know/NA	2
100 (N=563)		100 (N=620)

Q6. In the past few days have you seen any television commercials on behalf of **Bill Clinton's** candidacy?...Only tell me "yes" if you have seen paid commercials for Clinton on tv in the past few days?

Oct. 9-13:		Oct. 2-6:
59	Yes	64
39	No	34
2	DK	2
100		100

Q.7 What grade would you give these commercials as being a convincing reason to vote for Bill Clinton? Would you grade them A, B, C, D, or Flunk?

Oct. 9-13:		Sept. 25-29:
15	A	16
25	B	30
25	C	27
12	D	8
19	F	16
4	Don't know/NA	3
100 (N=500)		100 (N=591)

C2915-4 20-F

Times Mirror
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The Press

NEWS Release

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92:

Air Wars III

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Air Wars Score Card 3 - October 22, 1992

ONE IN THREE FLUNK BUSH ADS

A ***Times Mirror Center*** survey conducted October 14-18 reveals that the American electorate continues to react more negatively to George Bush's campaign commercials than to those of each of his rivals. A majority of voters who say they have seen Bush commercials in the past week rate them poorly - 34% give them an "F" grade for presenting a convincing reason to vote for the President, and another 17% grade them a "D". Only 5% give Bush's paid advertising an "A" grade, and 21% give it a "B".

Many more voters who have seen Clinton and Perot ads grade them positively. A majority (52%) give the Clinton commercials high marks. Seventeen percent say Clinton's campaign advertising rates an "A" grade and 35% rate them "B". Similarly, 19% of recent viewers of Perot's ads grade them "A", and 28% "B". Only 22% gave Clinton's commercials a "D" or "F", while 23% rated Perot's paid television "D" or "F". It should be noted that Clinton's commercials are playing particularly well to voters who have not completed high school while Perot's advertising is appealing at a somewhat higher level to better educated voters. 50% of college graduates give the Clinton advertisements an "A" or "B" grade, while 72% of voters who have not completed high school give them the same high grades. In Perot's case, 59% of college graduates give his paid messages an "A" or "B", but only 37% of those with less than a high school diploma give him those high marks.

"C" is the average grade given by voters who say they have seen Clinton and Perot commercials in the past week. On average, Bush's commercials are graded a "C-" by recent viewers.

The Bush campaign's difficulties are also underscored by Ross Perot's surge into the public consciousness. When asked which presidential candidate voters have heard most about in newspapers, television or radio during this past week, Bill Clinton was named by 39% of the public, Ross Perot by 28% and George Bush by 14%. The pattern of response has been the same since the first presidential debate.

Bush's commercials fail even to get enthusiastic grades from voters who identify with the Republican party. Just 52% of Republicans graded Bush's commercials "A" or "B". In contrast, 70% of Democrats gave Clinton commercials high grades and 60% of Independents gave Perot's ads an "A" or "B" grade.

High grades from partisan audiences notwithstanding, most voters say they are learning more about the candidates from news reports than from paid advertisements. By a 65% to 18% margin voters say they are getting a better idea of where candidates stand on issues from news reports rather than from advertisements. And by a 63% to 23% margin voters say they are learning more about what the candidates are like personally from the news than from the ads.

Survey Methodology

The survey results are based on telephone interviews of 802 registered voters from a nationwide survey of adults 18 years and older conducted October 14-18, 1992.

For results based on either sample of registered voters, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 4 percentage points. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING SURVEY
October 14-18, 1992
N=802

INTRODUCTION: Hello, we are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

MY FIRST QUESTION IS...

Q.1 Apart from whom you support, which presidential candidate have you heard the most about in the last week or so in newspapers, on television or on radio? (DO NOT SUGGEST ANSWERS)

	Oct. 14-18	Oct. 9-13	Oct. 2-6	Sept. 25-29
George Bush	14	16	18	29
Bill Clinton	39	37	33	40
Ross Perot	28	31	33	19
Other/Undecided	19	16	16	12
	100	100	100	100
	(802)	(826)	(796)	(784)

Q2. In the past few days have you come to have a more favorable opinion of any of the candidates or haven't your opinions of the candidates changed lately?

IF MORE FAVORABLE ASK:
Q2a. Which candidate do you have a more favorable opinion of?

	Oct. 14-18	Oct. 9-13	Oct. 2-6
Yes, more favorable	32	21	14
George Bush	5	3	3
Bill Clinton	17	8	9
Ross Perot	9	9	1
DK/NA	1	1	1
Not changed	66	77	83
Don't know/NA	2	2	3
	100	100	100

Q3. In the past few days have you come to have a less favorable opinion of any of the candidates or not?

IF LESS FAVORABLE ASK:
Q3a. Which candidate do you have a less favorable opinion of?

	Oct. 14-18	Oct. 9-13	Oct. 2-6
Yes, less favorable	49	41	40
George Bush	24	18	12
Bill Clinton	14	12	9
Ross Perot	9	9	17
DK/NA	2	2	2
Not changed	49	57	58
Don't know/NA	2	2	2
	100	100	100

Q.4 In the past few days have you seen any television commercials on behalf of **George Bush's** candidacy?...Only tell me "yes" if you have seen paid commercials for Bush on tv in the past few days?

	Oct. 14-18	Oct. 9-13	Oct. 2-6
Yes	60	66	68
No	38	32	30
DK	2	2	2
	100	100	100

Q.5 What grade would you give these commercials as being a convincing reason to vote for George Bush? Would you grade them A, B, C, D or Flunk?

	Oct. 14-18	Oct. 9-13	Sept. 25-29
A	5	7	9
B	21	17	16
C	21	26	29
D	17	13	13
F	34	32	31
Don't know/NA	2	5	2
	100	100	100
	(510)	(563)	(620)

Q6. In the past few days have you seen any television commercials on behalf of **Bill Clinton's** candidacy?...Only tell me "yes" if you have seen paid commercials for Clinton on tv in the past few days?

	Oct. 14-18	Oct. 9-13	Oct. 2-6
Yes	57	59	64
No	40	39	34
DK	3	2	2
	100	100	100

Q.7 What grade would you give these commercials as being a convincing reason to vote for Bill Clinton? Would you grade them A, B, C, D, or Flunk?

	Oct. 14-18	Oct. 9-13	Sept. 25-29
A	17	15	16
B	35	25	30
C	24	25	27
D	8	12	8
F	14	19	16
Don't know/NA	1	4	3
	100	100	100
	(472)	(500)	(591)

Q.8 In the past few days have you seen any television commercials on behalf of **Ross Perot's** candidacy?...Only tell me "yes" if you have seen paid commercials for Perot on tv in the past few days?

	Oct. 14-18
Yes	62
No	37
DK	1
	100

Q.9 What grade would you give these commercials as being a convincing reason to vote for Ross Perot? Would you grade them A, B, C, D, or Flunk?

	Oct. 14-18
A	19
B	28
C	26
D	11
F	12
Don't know/NA	4
	100
	(504)

Q.10 In this campaign, which is giving you a better idea of where the candidates stand on issues?

	Oct. 14-18
News reports on TV	65
The candidates TV commercials	18
Neither	13
Don't know/NA	4
	100

Q.11 In this campaign, which is giving you a better idea of what the candidates are like personally?

	Oct. 14-18
News reports on TV	63
The candidates TV commercials	23
Neither	9
Don't know/NA	5
	100

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Times Mirror
Center for
The People &
The Press

N E W S Release

FOR RELEASE: MONDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1992, A.M.

The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92:

Voters Reconsider
An October Panel-back Survey (XII)

Perot Is Back

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PEROT UNDERTOE THREATENS CLINTON

Ross Perot's surge in the polls is drawing somewhat more support from Bill Clinton than from George Bush, and the third party candidate seems poised to make more gains that might further narrow Bill Clinton's nationwide margin.

A special ***Times Mirror*** re-interview survey of 1153 registered voters conducted Oct 20-22 found 44% supporting Clinton, 34% George Bush and 19% Ross Perot. The benchmark poll, which took place Oct. 8-12, had Clinton leading by a 48% to 35% margin over the President, with independent Ross Perot gaining the support of only 8% of the pre-debate sampling.

Over the ten-day period between surveys 79% of the electorate maintained their presidential preferences in the face of four televised debates. However, of the 21% who changed allegiances, the largest categories were Bush (4%) and Clinton supporters (6%) defecting to independent candidate Ross Perot. As shown in the table below, Perot was also the beneficiary of added support from voters who were initially undecided.

		October 8-12			
	Total	Bush	Clinton	Perot	Undec.
	%	%	%	%	%
	100	35	48	8	9
Reinterviews:					
Bush	34	30[1]	1	1	2
Clinton	44	1	41	1	2
Perot	19	4	6	6	3
Undecided	3	*	*	*	2

The small differences in the candidate standings are perhaps less significant than the major changes in voter attitudes observed over the panel-back survey period. Through his performance in the debates and his advertising, Perot has managed to get large numbers of voters to reconsider their opinions of him. At the same time, Republican attacks on Bill Clinton have begun to wear away at the Democratic candidate's image. Opinions of George Bush have changed the least over this period, and that may be the principal reason why the candidate standings have not changed more than they have.

Perot Worries Wane

Over the ten-day period voter worries about Ross Perot as a potential president fell, while concerns about Clinton continued to increase. The percentage thinking there is a ***big chance*** that Perot would make major mistakes that would hurt the country, if elected, fell from 40% to 31% between surveys. Believing that Clinton would make major mistakes increased to 27%, from 25%, Oct 8-12, and from only 18% in Times Mirror's mid-September poll.

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[1] How To Read Table - 35% of voters said they supported George Bush when first called. In the second interview, that group was composed of 30% who still supported Bush, 1% Clinton, 4% Perot and one half of a percent undecided.

A companion question about George Bush showed some improvement for the President. Thinking that conditions in this country might improve, if he were re-elected, rose from 34% in early October to 44% currently. However, a majority (50%) of the public continues to think that there is ***no chance*** of improvement under George Bush.

The number of voters either saying that they now support Perot, or ***would consider*** voting for him rose from 29% to 38% during the survey period. When Perot was at his high watermark back in May, 51% of voters said there was some chance they might vote for the independent candidate. Perot's potential vote is now approaching Bush's level, which slipped from 48% to 45%. Clinton's vote potential remains considerably higher at 55% but prior to the debates, 62% of voters were either supporting him or said they might consider it.

The panel-back similarly showed the percentage of voters naming Perot as their second choice rising from 33% to 44% currently. Analysis of the poll results reveals that people who say that Perot is their second choice, or say that there is some chance that they might vote for Perot are drawn more often from Clinton's base than from Bush's. The potential defection pattern approximates the pattern of losses to Perot incurred by Bush and Clinton over the past 10 days.

	Might Vote For Perot	Perot 2nd Choice
Current:		
Bush Supporter	35%	40%
Clinton Supporter	57%	60%
Undecided	8	*
	100	100

Perot's success with some voters is a dual consequence of how much he has repaired his personal image, and the extent to which he has gained the confidence of many voters on critical issues. In ten days, the percentage of voters naming Perot as the most ***"unreliable"*** candidate of the three fell from 30% to 17%. In turn, mentions of Clinton as the most unreliable of the candidates rose from 21% to 32%.

Seeing Perot as the ***"power hungry"*** candidate fell from 37% to 28% as association of this phrase with Clinton increased from 22% to 31%. Similarly in the panel-back, voters increasingly named Perot as the most ***honest and truthful*** candidate (16% to 31%), the ***strongest leader*** (12% to 21%), having the most ***new ideas*** (31% to 44%) and ***caring the most about people like me*** (12% to 26%).

On balance, Clinton remains stronger than Perot on many of the most crucial personal dimensions, such as being ***able to bring about change***, ***likability***, and ***long range thinking***, but the growth in his negatives is also apparent. Association of Bill Clinton with the phrase

"a typical politician" increased from 34% to 44% during the study period. And more people identified the Arkansas Governor with the phrase ***"doesn't tell the truth"***, in the follow-up interviews (26% to 37%).

As would be expected of an incumbent, but not hoped for by an underdog, Times Mirror's sampling of voters changed their opinions much less about Bush than about his challengers. The President continues to be seen by a wide margin as the candidate with the ***"best judgment in a crisis"*** and as the best ***"family man"*** of the three. But in the first interview, only 17% thought that he is the candidate best ***"able to bring about change"*** and 25% thought he was the candidate who ***"cared most about people like me"***. Both of those perceptions were in tact ten days later (17% and 24%, respectively).

People who back the President most often cite his experience (35%) as the reason for their support with only 19% citing the President's positions on issues as important, and 26% his leadership ability. In contrast, Clinton's backers overwhelmingly point to the Democratic candidate's stand on issues (68%), with only 13% naming Clinton's leadership ability and 4% his experience.

Perot has succeeded in giving his supporters a somewhat more balanced picture - 53% say they most like the independent candidate's stand on issues and 25% cite his leadership ability.

Candidate Commitment Crystallizes

Bill Clinton's ability to maintain his margin over President Bush in the face of a resurgent Perot will be helped by the fact that over the course of October the resolve of Clinton's backers has stiffened and more of his supporters said they were voting ***for*** the Governor, rather than against the President. Between the first interview and the second interview Clinton's support changed from on balance moderate to on balance positive (23% strong, 25% moderate in the first poll, to 26% strong, 18% moderate in the follow-up). The same pattern was observed for Bush's support and Perot's, as well. Perhaps more importantly for Clinton, the percentage saying they were voting ***for*** Bill Clinton climbed from 23% to 25% during the 10-day interval.

The presidential race is changing most in the demographic and attitudinal categories of voters who usually vote Republican for President, but have shown less support for Bush so far in this campaign. The highest rates of switching to Perot were found among independents, whites, males, voters with some college training and people living in the West. Clinton's losses over the period occurred most often among men, Midwesterners, and affluent voters.

Perot has made his greatest gains among ***Disaffected*** voters. While still trailing Clinton, he leads Bush among this financially hard-pressed and alienated bloc. Perot has also made substantial progress among well-informed voter segments that have widely disparate values. He attracts the support of one in five economically conservative ***Enterpriser*** Republicans and about the some proportion of socially liberal ***Seculars***.

CANDIDATE PREFERENCE**
BY TYPOLOGY GROUP

	SEPT 10-13, 1992		*OCT 8-12, 1992*			*OCT 20-22, 1992*		
	BUSH	*CLINTON*	*BUSH*	*CLINTON*	*PEROT*	*BUSH*	*CLINTON*	*PEROT*
TOTAL	38	53	35	48	8	34	44	19
ENTERPRISERS (N=169)	80	13	76	8	9	74	5	19
MORALISTS (N=149)	88	7	77	9	7	80	5	13
UPBEATS (N=113)	37	48	45	34	8	40	36	20
DISAFFECTEDS (N=175)	34	49	28	42	15	24	38	31
SECULARS (N=107)	15	77	12	75	9	7	72	22
60'S DEMOCRATS (N=83)	9	84	7	87	3	6	80	11
NEW DEALERS (N=51)	16	78	16	71	2	16	68	16
POCKET BOOK DEMOCRATS (N=220)	10	86	8	83	4	8	80	10
BYSTANDERS/ OTHER (N=86)	29	58	43	30	12	32	26	36

**Includes Leaners.

DEMOGRAPHIC TREND IN PRESIDENTIAL SUPPORT

	Bush		*Clinton*		*Perot*		*Other/Undec.*		
	October		*October*		*October*		*October*		
	8-12	*20-22*	*8-12*	*20-22*	*8-12*	*20-22*	*8-12*	*20-22*	*N*
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	35	34	48	44	8	19	9	3	(1153)
Sex									
Male	37	34	44	38	11	24	8	2	(556)
Female	34	33	51	48	6	14	10	5	(597)
Race									
White	39	38	43	39	9	21	9	3	(1012)
Black	9	4	82	87	3	6	7	3	(87)
Age									
18-29	35	28	53	50	9	21	4	1	(199)
30-49	35	35	48	43	10	20	8	3	(537)
50+	36	35	45	43	7	18	12	5	(409)
Education									
College Grad.	38	37	48	46	7	16	6	1	(413)
Some College	34	31	45	40	11	24	10	5	(322)
H.S. Graduate	37	36	48	43	7	19	8	2	(318)
< H.S. Grad.	29	28	51	50	7	17	14	5	(99)
Income									
$50,000+	38	35	48	40	9	23	5	2	(288)
$30,000-$49,999	43	44	43	35	7	19	7	3	(300)
$20,000-$29,999	37	35	45	44	9	20	8	3	(217)
< $20,000	24	21	59	59	7	17	11	4	(257)
Region									
East	36	34	47	44	9	19	9	4	(241)
Midwest	33	33	49	42	8	21	11	4	(329)
South	39	39	44	45	8	15	9	2	(435)
West	31	26	53	46	10	25	6	4	(148)
Party Affiliation									
Republican	76	74	10	7	8	16	7	2	(353)
Democrat	9	7	82	79	4	11	5	3	(417)
Independent	29	26	43	38	15	33	13	3	(344)
Type of Community									
City	31	28	54	51	7	18	8	2	(286)
Suburb	38	36	46	41	8	20	8	3	(555)
Non-metro	35	36	44	42	9	18	12	4	(312)

	Bush		*Clinton*		*Perot*		*Other/Undec.*		
	October		*October*		*October*		*October*		
	8-12	*20-22*	*8-10*	*20-22*	*8-12*	*20-22*	*8-10*	*20-22*	*N*
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Other Groups									
White Males	40	38	40	35	12	25	8	2	(491)
Southern White Males	48	50	34	32	11	18	7	1	(180)
White Catholics	41	35	44	41	8	20	8	4	(245)
White Protestants	42	43	40	34	9	19	10	4	(622)

THE PEROT BOOM

	Perot As 2nd Choice		*Perot Not A Risk*		
	OCT 8-12	*OCT 20-22*	*OCT 8-12*	*OCT 20-22*	*N*
	%	%	%	%	
Total	33	45	50	65	(1153)
Sex					
Male	40	48	55	67	(556)
Female	27	42	45	63	(597)
Race					
White	33	45	50	66	(1012)
Black	35	43	50	53	(87)
Age					
18-29	40	54	59	72	(199)
30-49	33	46	53	68	(537)
50+	30	38	41	58	(409)
Education					
College Grad.	36	49	52	67	(413)
Some College	31	42	54	68	(322)
H.S. Graduate	31	45	47	65	(318)
< H.S. Grad.	40	42	45	57	(99)
Income					
$50,000+	32	44	49	67	(288)
$30,000-$49,999	33	44	52	66	(300)
$20,000-$29,999	32	46	50	60	(217)
< $20,000	39	44	50	65	(257)
Region					
East	29	49	49	66	(241)
Midwest	32	47	55	72	(329)
South	37	43	45	59	(435)
West	34	41	51	64	(148)
Party Affiliation					
Republican	32	46	46	64	(353)
Democrat	37	52	47	63	(417)
Independent	29	36	56	70	(344)
Type of Community					
City	33	44	48	66	(286)
Suburb	33	47	51	66	(555)
Non-metro	34	42	50	62	(312)

	Perot As 2nd Choice		Perot Not A Risk		
	OCT 8-12	OCT 20-22	OCT 8-12	OCT 20-22	N
	%	%	%	%	
Other Groups					
White Males	40	49	55	69	(491)
Southern White Males	42	52	49	60	(180)
White Catholics	35	47	52	67	(245)
White Protestants	32	45	48	64	(622)

THE CLINTON NEGATIVES

	Clinton Unreliable		*Clinton Doesn't Tell the Truth*		
	OCT 8-12	*OCT 20-22*	*OCT 8-12*	*OCT 20-22*	*N*
	%	%	%	%	
Total	22	32	26	37	(1153)
Sex					
Male	26	37	29	40	(556)
Female	18	27	24	34	(597)
Race					
White	23	34	28	40	(1012)
Black	7	9	7	13	(87)
Age					
18-29	22	28	27	40	(199)
30-49	23	35	30	40	(537)
50+	19	29	22	32	(409)
Education					
College Grad.	24	36	30	40	(413)
Some College	20	32	27	38	(322)
H.S. Graduate	21	30	26	38	(318)
< H.S. Grad.	21	27	17	29	(99)
Income					
$50,000+	23	35	35	43	(288)
$30,000-$49,999	25	42	33	46	(300)
$20,000-$29,999	23	30	25	34	(217)
< $20,000	16	21	17	27	(257)
Region					
East	18	31	26	37	(241)
Midwest	18	31	23	38	(329)
South	26	34	28	40	(435)
West	22	29	26	33	(148)
Party Affiliation					
Republican	44	59	50	68	(353)
Democrat	6	9	10	13	(417)
Independent	20	33	24	37	(344)
Type of Community					
City	19	25	23	34	(286)
Suburb	23	33	30	39	(555)
Non-metro	23	36	23	38	(312)

	Clinton Unreliable		*Clinton Doesn't Tell the Truth*		
	OCT 8-12	*OCT 20-22*	*OCT 8-12*	*OCT 20-22*	*N*
	%	*%*	*%*	*%*	
Other Groups					
White Males	27	39	32	43	(491)
Southern White Males	38	41	38	45	(180)
White Catholics	21	29	28	39	(245)
White Protestants	26	38	30	43	(622)

Survey Methodology

The survey results are based on telephone re-interviews conducted October 20-22, 1992 of 1,153 registered voters from a nationwide survey of adults 18 years and older originally conducted October 8-12, 1992.

For results based on the total sample of registered voters, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE TIMES MIRROR TYPOLOGY

In 1987 Times Mirror developed a unique voter classification scheme that divided the electorate on the basis of political values, party identification and measures of political participation. Since its inception Times Mirror has conducted numerous nationwide surveys using this political typology, the most recent of which was reported in ***THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS & POLITICS - 1990***. The typology was developed for administration by personal interview in that it requires about 15 minutes of interviewing time to ask the full battery of questions.

Over the past year the ***Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press*** has developed a modified form of the Times Mirror Typology that is suitable for telephone interviewing in that it requires many fewer questions. It also divides the public into fewer groups (9 vs. 11) and therefore can be used with more limited sample size surveys. It is our intention to utilize the modified typology scheme on each of our pre-election surveys in 1992. While this form of the typology does not offer the full analytical richness of the original scheme, we think it continues to be an important and highly useful way of looking at the electorate.

The modified typology is based on the important concepts about the homogeneity of various voting groups that we uncovered in our earlier research.

There are two core Republican groups:

Enterprisers: Enterprisers are fiscal conservatives who hold positive attitudes toward business and are anti-welfarist. They are affluent, well-educated and well-informed. Enterprisers are much less likely than other Americans to agree with the popular notion that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer (43% vs. 81%). Their pro-business stance leads them to differ with most Americans on the idea that too much power is concentrated in the hands of big companies. While 82% of other Americans feel that this is true, only 48% of Enterprisers agree. Enterprisers are also less likely to completely agree that society should make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity (55% vs. 41%).

Moralists: Moralists are highly religious, socially conservative and show low levels of concern for personal freedoms. They are less affluent, older, and many live in the South. A vast majority of Moralists agree that books with dangerous ideas should be banned from public schools, which sets them firmly to the right of the rest of the public on the issue of censorship (89% vs. 39%).

There are three core Democratic groups:

Sixties Democrats: Sixties Democrats are strong believers in peace and social justice. More than any other segment of the population, they disagree with the idea that the best way to preserve peace is through military strength (88% vs. 44%). And two-thirds (65%) of Sixties Democrats completely agree that society should guarantee everyone an equal opportunity. This is a heavily female, middle class, middle-aged group that supports most of the policy positions of the national Democratic party.

New Dealers: New Dealers are older Democrats who experience little financial pressure and are more socially conservative than the national Democratic Party. Drawn heavily from the South, many of these old-time Democrats have party roots that go back to Roosevelt. Despite the end of the Cold War, New Dealers still universally agree that the best way to insure peace is through military strength (96%[2]).

Pocketbook Democrats: Pocketbook Dems overwhelmingly agree that they don't have enough money to make ends meet (98%). They are very concerned with social justice, and they believe that government should take an active role in the solution of the socio-economic problems that plague them. One-third of Pocketbook Dems are minorities (32%), and many have less than a high school education.

There are three typology groups that are basically Independent:

Seculars: Seculars lean to the Democratic party, but some identify more closely with the GOP on certain issues. They are strongly supportive of personal freedoms. Seculars are well-informed, relatively affluent, and more often found on the East and West coasts. Their defining characteristic is an almost total lack of religious conviction. While 87% of the rest of the public says that prayer is an important part of their daily life, only one in ten (12%) Seculars hold this view. Their support for personal freedoms is best reflected in their feelings about censorship: 97% disagree with banning books containing dangerous ideas from public school libraries, compared with 48% of other Americans.

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[2] Based on combined survey results from November 1991 and January 1992.

Two of the Independent groups lean to the Republican party:

Disaffecteds: Disaffecteds are personally alienated, financially pressured and deeply skeptical of politicians. This middle-aged, lower-middle income group contains many blue collar workers. Disaffecteds are nearly twice as likely as others to agree that hard work offers little guarantee of success (69% vs. 36%). Their political distrust is such that three-quarters (77%) disagree that elected officials care what people like them think.

Upbeats: Upbeats are also independents who lean to the GOP, but their attitudinal profile is almost the opposite of Disaffecteds. Upbeats are primarily young people who tend to be uncritical of government and other institutions. They also have American Exceptionalist values: 88% of Upbeats agree that Americans can always solve their problems, while only 55% of others agree.

Finally, there is one typology group that is by definition apolitical:

Bystanders: Bystanders have an almost total lack of interest in politics and public affairs. This urban, lower socio-economic group contains many young singles. Forty-six percent of Bystanders say they seldom vote.

The table below shows the percentage of the survey respondents in each typology group for this survey.

	PERCENT
Enterprisers	15
Moralists	13
Upbeats	10
Disaffecteds	15
Bystanders/Other	8
Seculars	9
60's Democrats	7
New Dealers	4
Pocketbook Dems.	19

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
NATIONAL POLITICAL SURVEY #12
RE-INTERVIEW SURVEY
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS
October 20-22, 1992
N=1153

INTRODUCTION: Hello, we are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of AGE/SEX of respondent. It will only be a few questions to follow up to the interview we did a week ago or so.

MY FIRST QUESTION IS

Q.1 How closely have you been following news about the Presidential election, very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

	Re-Interview	Sept 1992	Aug 1992	May 1992	Aug 1988
Very closely	55	47	36	35	43
Fairly closely	36	36	51	43	44
Not too closely,	7	11	11	15	11
Not at ally closely?	2	6	2	7	2
Don't know	0	*	0	*	*
	100	100	100	100	100
	1153	1175	1023	1605	1000

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.3 If the presidential election were being held today, would you vote for the Republican ticket of George Bush and Dan Quayle, for the Democratic ticket of Bill Clinton and Al Gore or for the ticket of Ross Perot and James Stockdale?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '4' OTHER OR '5' UNDECIDED IN Q.3 ASK:

Q.5 As of today, do you lean more to Bush and Quayle the Republicans, more to Clinton and Gore the Democrats or more to Perot and Stockdale?

	Re-Interview	Oct 8-12
Total Bush/Quayle	34	35
Bush	32	31
Lean Bush	2	4
Total Clinton	44	48
Clinton	42	43
Lean Clinton	2	5
Total Perot	19	8
Perot	17	7
Lean Perot	2	1
Other/Undecided	3	9
	100	100

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' GEORGE BUSH, '2' BILL CLINTON OR '3' PEROT IN Q.3 ASK:

Q.4 Do you support **(INSERT CHOICE FROM Q.3)** strongly or only moderately?

	Re-Interview	Oct 8-12
Total Bush/Quayle	34	35
Strong Bush	20	14
Moderate	14	21
Total Clinton/Gore	44	48
Strong Clinton	26	23
Moderate	18	25
Total Perot/Stockdale	19	8
Strong Perot	11	3
Moderate	8	5

Q.6 Would you say that your choice is more a vote for **(CANDIDATE FROM Q.3/5)** or more a vote against **(OTHER CANDIDATES)**?

	Re-Interview	Oct 8-12
Total Bush/Quayle	34	35
Bush/positive	19	19
Bush/against opponents	13	13
Total Clinton/Gore	44	48
Clinton/positive	25	23
Clinton/against opp.	17	22
Total Perot/Stockdale	19	8
Perot/positive	10	3
Perot/against opponents	7	5

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' FOR CANDIDATE CHOSEN IN Q.6 ASK:

Q.7 What do you like most about **(NAME OF CANDIDATE)** his personality and character, his leadership ability, his experience or his stand on issues?

	RE-INTERVIEW		
	George Bush	Bill Clinton	Ross Perot
Personality and character	15	11	12
Leadership	26	13	25
Experience	35	4	9
Stand on issues	19	68	53
Can't say	5	4	1
	100	100	100

ASK ALL WHO CHOSE A TICKET IN Q.3 OR Q.5:

Q.8 Suppose you could have a second choice which ticket would be your second choice **(OTHER TICKET)** or **(OTHER TICKET)**?

	Re-Interview	Oct 8-12
Bush/Quayle	20	18
Clinton/Gore	19	19
Perot/Stockdale	44	33
Has no second choice	13	23
(DO NOT READ) Other	1	2
(DO NOT READ) Undecided	3	5
	100	100

Q.13 What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year? Would you say that you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the choices?

	Re-Interview	Aug 1992	June 1992	May[3] 1992	Mar 1992
Very satisfied	10	11	6	25	26
Fairly satisfied	41	42	29		
Not too satisfied	33	31	36	72	68
Not at all satisfied	14	15	27		
(DO NOT READ) Can't say	2	1	2	3	6
	100	100	100	100	100
	1153	1203	2594	1065	1366

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[3] In May and March the question was asked, "What's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year? Would you say that you are satisfied with the choices or not satisfied with the choices?

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE BUSH IN Q.3 OR Q.5 ASK:

Q.10 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for George Bush in the fall or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

	Re-Interview	Oct 8-12	Sept 1992	July 29 Aug 1 1992	May 1992
[4]Chance might vote for him	45	48	50	51	55
Decided not to vote for him	53	46	44	45	40
Can't say	2	6	6	4	5
	100	100	100	100	100
	1153	1815	1175	1023	1065

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE CLINTON IN Q.3 OR Q.5 ASK:

Q.11 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Bill Clinton in the fall or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

	Re-Interview	Oct 8-12	Sept 1992	July 29 Aug 1 1992	May 1992
[5]Chance might vote for him	55	62	66	71	56
Decided not to vote for him	43	32	28	26	38
Can't say	2	6	6	3	6
	100	100	100	100	100
	1153	1815	1175	1023	1065

---

[4] Voted for him in one of the preference questions.

[5] Voted for him in one of the preference questions.

IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE PEROT IN Q.3 OR Q.5 ASK:

Q.12 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Ross Perot in the fall or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

	Re-Interview	Oct 8-12	May 1992
[3]Chance might vote for him	38	29	51
Decided not to vote for him	59	63	34
Can't say	3	8	15
	100	100	100
	1153	1815	1065

Q.22 Do you think there is a chance that if George Bush is re-elected that conditions in this country will get better or don't you think so?

	Re-Interview	Oct 8-12	Sept 1992	July 29 Aug 1 1992	May 1992
Yes, chance	44	34	38	37	35
No chance	50	54	54	56	52
Don't know	6	12	8	7	13
	100	100	100	100	100
	1153	1815	1175	1023	1065

Q.23 How much of a chance is there that if Bill Clinton is elected President that he would make major mistakes that would hurt the country? **(READ CATEGORIES 1-3)**

	Re-Interview	Oct 8-12	Sept 1992	July 29 Aug 1 1992	May 1992
A big chance	29	25	18	18	16
Some chance	50	48	55	55	50
Hardly any chance	19	19	22	23	20
Can't say	2	8	5	4	14
	100	100	100	100	100
	1153	1315	1175	1023	1065

Q.24 How much of a chance is there that if Ross Perot is elected President that he would make major mistakes that would hurt the country? **(READ CATEGORIES 1-3)**

	Re- Interview	Oct 8-12	May 1992
A big chance	31	40	16
Some chance	51	39	50
Hardly any chance	14	11	20
Can't say	4	10	14
	100	100	100
	1153	1815	1065

ASK ALL:
Q.26 As I read a list of phrases tell me if you think this phrase better describes George Bush, Bill Clinton or Ross Perot? **(ROTATE)**

	George Bush	Bill Clinton	Ross Perot	**(VOLUNTEERED)** All	None	DK
a. Would use good judgment in a crisis						
Re-interview	49	32	11	5	*	3=100
October 8-12, 1992	49	32	8	3	1	7=100
b. Personally likable						
Re-interview	26	41	23	7	2	1=100
October 8-12, 1992	31	48	8	5	4	4=100
c. Unreliable						
Re-interview	32	32	17	3	8	8=100
October 8-12, 1992	29	21	30	4	5	11=100
d. A typical politician						
Re-interview	41	44	3	9	*	3=100
October 8-12, 1992	43	34	5	13	*	5=100
e. Has new ideas						
Re-interview	6	44	44	2	2	2=100
October 8-12, 1992	9	51	31	2	3	4=100

Q.26 As I read a list of phrases tell me if you think this phrase better describes George Bush, Bill Clinton or Ross Perot? **(ROTATE)**

	George Bush	Bill Clinton	Ross Perot	(VOLUNTEERED) All	None	DK
f. Can bring about change						
Re-interview	17	46	28	3	2	4=100
October 8-12, 1992	17	49	19	4	5	6=100
g. Honest and truthful						
Re-interview	27	20	31	3	15	4=100
October 8-12, 1992	27	24	16	4	20	9=100
h. Can think long range						
Re-interview	33	34	25	3	1	4=100
October 8-12, 1992	35	32	17	4	3	9=100
i. Is a good family man						
Re-interview	42	21	18	14	1	4=100
October 8-12, 1992	49	23	9	10	1	8=100
j. Intelligent						
Re-interview	22	29	21	26	*	2=100
October 8-12, 1992	28	30	13	23	1	5=100
k. Cares about people like me						
Re-interview	24	38	26	3	6	3=100
October 8-12, 1992	25	44	12	4	9	6=100
l. Is a strong leader						
Re-interview	39	31	21	4	2	3=100
October 8-12, 1992	42	31	12	3	5	7=100
m. Power hungry						
Re-interview	25	31	28	7	4	5=100
October 8-12, 1992	23	22	37	7	3	8=100
n. Would bend the rules to get things done						
Re-interview	19	29	37	7	2	6=100
October 8-12, 1992	24	27	29	8	2	10=100
o. Doesn't tell the truth						
Re-interview	31	37	3	15	6	8=100
October 8-12, 1992	30	26	8	17	6	13=100

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Times Mirror
Center for
The People &
The Press

N E W S Release

EMBARGOED

FOR RELEASE: WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1992, A.M.

The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92:

1993 - Priorities For The President

Survey XII - Part 2

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PEROT BRINGS BUDGET DEFICIT TO CENTER STAGE

Over the course of the ten days in October that shaped the final leg of this election campaign Ross Perot has brought several issues into sharp focus that have convinced a significant number of voters that he is the candidate most capable of handling them.

Perot has managed to bring politically dormant concern about the budget deficit into the forefront of voters' minds. In a ***Times Mirror*** survey of 1153 registered voters ***"reducing the federal budget deficit"*** was named more often than any other problem that should be the next President's single highest priority for action. Forty percent mentioned the deficit, 31% mentioned unemployment, and 14% mentioned controlling health care costs, when asked to choose from a list of eight major problems.

Similarly, Perot's criticism of The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which has been not been followed closely by the public[1], may well be the reason that by the end of last week the weight of public opinion came down on his side of the issue. By a 47% to 20% margin voters said they thought that the free trade agreement between the U.S., Canada and Mexico would lead to more jobs leaving the U.S., not to more jobs being created in the U.S.

The potential for these issues to further incline Bush and Clinton supporters in Perot's direction is strikingly evident in Times Mirror's survey. A solid 55% majority of Clinton's current supporters think that NAFTA will lead to job loss, while Bush supporters are divided - 34% job creation, 29% loss. However, among Bush's soft supporters, a 37% to 27% plurality see NAFTA having a negative impact on jobs.

While there is more of a disconnect between Clinton and his supporters on NAFTA, Perot's emphasis on the budget deficit rings more bells with Republicans and with Bush supporters. Clinton supporters place greater emphasis on reducing unemployment (37%) than on reducing the budget deficit (29%), but for Bush backers it's the reverse - 44% the budget deficit, 27% unemployment.

Further bad news for Bush is that only 14% of the public thinks that the President can cut taxes ***and*** reduce the budget deficit. Even Republicans who give the deficit high priority have no faith that their candidate can cut taxes and reduce the deficit. Sixty-nine percent of Republicans believe the president can't meet his objective as do 59% of his non - party supporters.

A special Times Mirror survey, which last week re-interviewed voters who were first polled just prior to the beginning of the debate week, found that Perot changed many minds about who was most capable on these two key issues.

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[1] Times Mirror's September News Interest Index found only 13 % saying they were following news about the debate and discussion over NAFTA very closely.

At the beginning of the study period 29% had more confidence in Ross Perot than the other candidates to reduce the deficit. Ten days later, that percentage rose to 47%. Even more dramatically, mentions of Perot as best able to protect American jobs rose from 19% to 43% in the re-interviews. As a result, fewer people expressed confidence in Clinton and Bush on this cutting issue. Mentions of Bush slipped from 21% to 15%, while naming Clinton as best able to protect jobs fell from 41% to 33%.

Perot's appeal has a more corrosive effect on Republican supporters than on Democrats in these policy areas. Forty-eight percent of Republicans name Perot as best able to protect American jobs and 50% name him as best able to reduce the budget deficit. Only one in three GOP voters have the most confidence in George Bush to reduce the budget deficit and to protect American jobs.

More Democrats continue to have confidence in Clinton than Perot on both protecting jobs and reducing the deficit, but solid majorities of Independents think more highly of Perot's capabilities in these areas. Importantly 52% of swing voters[2] place more confidence in Perot with regard to the deficit and 47% with regard to protecting jobs.

Although Perot has staked out a claim on the budget deficit and protecting American jobs as a consequence of his debate performance and his infomercial advertising, the electorate continued to have more overall confidence in Clinton's ability to improve economic conditions. In Times Mirror's follow-up interviews, 38% thought Clinton would do the best job of improving the economy, 30% named Perot and 24% President Bush. In the initial interview only 16% cited Perot, while mentions of Bush and Clinton were 26% and 41% respectively.

Clinton's continued lead on ***the*** overall issue of improving the economy is the most positive news for the Democratic candidate in looking at assessing how voters' minds were changed over the course of the study period. However, the survey did find that an overwhelming majority of voters (78%) believe that Clinton will have to raise taxes on the middle class in order to pay for the new government programs he proposes.

Doubts about whether Clinton can keep his promise not to raise middle class taxes for the sake of his new programs, and doubts about whether Bush can reduce the budget deficit while cutting taxes, may explain why voters are divided on whether any of the candidates can fix the economy. A 57% majority of Bush backers don't think any of the candidates can fix the economy and 47% of Clinton supporters are pessimistic as well. Perot supporters provide a striking contrast; only 32% think that the candidates can't fix the economy, while 66% disagree.

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[2] Swing voters are those who express moderate support for the candidates or are undecided.

Perot's ability to credibly communicate with the public and to talk about the ***"issues"*** is clearly his strong point. But for most voters, even those who don't have a strong commitment to Bill Clinton and George Bush, that is about as far as it goes. Eighty-nine percent of voters credit Perot with bringing increased attention to the issues, but 76% of those who do not now support him agree with the statement ***"I like Ross Perot's ideas, but I don't think I can vote for him."***

HIGHEST PRIORITY FOR NEXT PRESIDENT

	Reduce Budget Deficit %	Reduce Unemploy-Ment %	Control Health Costs %	Other Domestic Policy[3] %	Foreign Policy[4] %	N
Total	59	60	38	29	9	(1153)
Sex						
Male	62	58	36	27	10	(556)
Female	56	62	39	31	8	(597)
Race						
White	62	60	37	25	9	(1012)
Black	37	61	46	47	5	(87)
Age						
18-29	56	60	32	41	9	(199)
30-49	58	62	35	31	10	(537)
50+	60	58	44	19	8	(409)
Education						
College Grad.	63	61	33	29	10	(413)
Some College	62	63	33	29	7	(322)
H.S. Graduate	56	58	45	27	10	(318)
< H.S. Grad.	53	57	38	29	8	(99)
Income						
$50,000+	65	64	32	28	10	(288)
$30,000-$49,999	62	60	38	24	10	(300)
$20,000-$29,999	61	60	35	32	5	(217)
< $20,000	51	58	45	32	8	(257)
Region						
East	58	63	40	25	11	(241)
Midwest	62	59	37	25	9	(329)
South	59	61	39	26	7	(435)
West	55	55	33	41	10	(148)

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[3] This includes answers "Reform the educational system", and "Protect the environment."

[4] This includes answers "Help the Russians convert to a market economy", "Stop the war in Yugoslavia", and "Making sure that the spread of nuclear weapons is controlled."

	Reduce Budget Deficit	Reduce Unemploy-Ment	Control Health Costs	Other Domestic Policy	Foreign Policy	N
	%	%	%	%	%	
Party Affiliation						
Republican	67	60	28	26	12	(353)
Democrat	47	63	43	34	7	(417)
Independent	65	57	41	25	9	(344)
Type of Community						
City	57	61	39	31	9	(286)
Suburb	57	62	35	30	9	(555)
Non-metro	63	55	40	24	10	(312)
Other Groups						
White Males	66	58	35	23	12	(491)
Southern White Males	64	58	39	22	11	(180)
White Catholics	57	64	39	23	14	(245)
White Protestants	65	59	36	25	6	(622)
Typology Groups						
Enterprisers	69	59	19	31	14	(169)
Moralists	63	56	39	24	9	(149)
Upbeats	66	65	39	21	5	(113)
Disaffecteds	65	57	36	26	8	(175)
Seculars	53	62	36	35	13	(107)
60's Democrats	52	73	38	31	6	(83)
New Dealers	60	52	48	24	2	(51)
Pocket Book Democrats	44	66	43	34	8	(220)
Bystanders/Others	66	48	49	25	12	(86)

NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT
Job Creation Vs. Job Loss

	More Jobs	Fewer Jobs	Not Sure	Haven't Heard Of	N
Total	20	47	17	16	(1153)
Sex					
Male	25	54	13	8	(556)
Female	15	41	21	23	(597)
Race					
White	21	47	17	15	(1012)
Black	16	49	13	22	(87)
Age					
18-29	21	44	10	25	(199)
30-49	19	49	16	16	(537)
50+	20	48	22	10	(409)
Education					
College Grad.	30	46	16	8	(413)
Some College	19	49	19	13	(322)
H.S. Graduate	15	49	15	21	(318)
< H.S. Grad.	16	42	21	21	(99)
Income					
$50,000+	23	46	20	11	(288)
$30,000-$49,999	23	50	12	15	(300)
$20,000-$29,999	17	49	16	18	(217)
< $20,000	18	46	16	20	(257)
Region					
East	22	42	20	16	(241)
Midwest	20	48	17	15	(329)
South	22	44	17	17	(435)
West	14	57	15	14	(148)
Party Affiliation					
Republican	29	34	21	16	(353)
Democrat	14	55	14	17	(417)
Independent	19	51	16	14	(344)
Type of Community					
City	19	44	17	20	(286)
Suburb	20	49	18	13	(555)
Non-metro	21	47	16	16	(312)

	More Jobs	Fewer Jobs	Not Sure	Haven't Heard Of	N
Other Groups					
White Males	27	53	12	8	(491)
Southern White Males	28	49	15	8	(180)
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60's Democrats	12	62	11	15	(83)
New Dealers	10	60	13	17	(51)
Pocket Book Democrats	15	51	16	18	(220)
Bystanders/Others	20	42	24	14	(86)

THE PEROT BOOM

	Perot Best On Deficit		Perot Best On Job Protection		
	OCT 8-12	OCT 20-22	OCT 8-12	OCT 20-22	N
	%	%	%	%	
Total	29	47	19	44	(1153)
Sex					
Male	38	58	25	53	(556)
Female	21	38	13	35	(597)
Race					
White	32	50	20	46	(1012)
Black	10	19	7	19	(87)
Age					
18-29	34	56	19	52	(199)
30-49	33	51	23	47	(537)
50+	23	39	15	35	(409)
Education					
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H.S. Graduate	25	46	15	11	(318)
< H.S. Grad.	15	26	11	31	(99)
Income					
$50,000+	38	58	28	53	(288)
$30,000-$49,999	32	53	20	47	(300)
$20,000-$29,999	27	48	17	43	(217)
< $20,000	22	36	13	33	(257)
Region					
East	29	47	22	44	(241)
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Party Affiliation					
Republican	27	51	20	48	(353)
Democrat	22	37	11	31	(417)
Independent	41	58	28	56	(344)
Type of Community					
City	28	47	17	44	(286)
Suburb	30	49	21	44	(555)
Non-metro	28	45	17	43	(312)

	Perot Best On Deficit		*Perot Best On Job Protection*		
	OCT 8-12	*OCT 20-22*	*OCT 8-12*	*OCT 20-22*	N
	%	%	%	%	
Other Groups					
White Males	41	61	27	55	(491)
Southern White Males	36	54	24	51	(180)
White Catholics	28	51	19	47	(245)
White Protestants	30	49	19	45	(622)

Survey Methodology

The survey results are based on telephone re-interviews conducted October 20-22, 1992 of 1,153 registered voters from a nationwide survey of adults 18 years and older originally conducted October 8-11, 1992 (N=1815).

For results based on the total sample of registered voters, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE TIMES MIRROR TYPOLOGY

In 1987 Times Mirror developed a unique voter classification scheme that divided the electorate on the basis of political values, party identification and measures of political participation. Since its inception Times Mirror has conducted numerous nationwide surveys using this political typology, the most recent of which was reported in ***THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS & POLITICS - 1990***. The typology was developed for administration by personal interview in that it requires about 15 minutes of interviewing time to ask the full battery of questions.

Over the past year the ***Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press*** has developed a modified form of the Times Mirror Typology that is suitable for telephone interviewing in that it requires many fewer questions. It also divides the public into fewer groups (9 vs. 11) and therefore can be used with more limited sample size surveys. It is our intention to utilize the modified typology scheme on each of our pre-election surveys in 1992. While this form of the typology does not offer the full analytical richness of the original scheme, we think it continues to be an important and highly useful way of looking at the electorate.

The modified typology is based on the important concepts about the homogeneity of various voting groups that we uncovered in our earlier research.

There are two core Republican groups:

Enterprisers: Enterprisers are fiscal conservatives who hold positive attitudes toward business and are anti-welfarist. They are affluent, well-educated and well-informed. Enterprisers are much less likely than other Americans to agree with the popular notion that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer (43% vs. 81%). Their pro-business stance leads them to differ with most Americans on the idea that too much power is concentrated in the hands of big companies. While 82% of other Americans feel that this is true, only 48% of Enterprisers agree. Enterprisers are also less likely to completely agree that society should make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity (55% vs. 41%).

Moralists: Moralists are highly religious, socially conservative and show low levels of concern for personal freedoms. They are less affluent, older, and many live in the South. A vast majority of Moralists agree that books with dangerous ideas should be banned from public schools, which sets them firmly to the right of the rest of the public on the issue of censorship (89% vs. 39%).

There are three core Democratic groups:

Sixties Democrats: Sixties Democrats are strong believers in peace and social justice. More than any other segment of the population, they disagree with the idea that the best way to preserve peace is through military strength (88% vs. 44%). And two-thirds (65%) of Sixties Democrats completely agree that society should guarantee everyone an equal opportunity. This is a heavily female, middle class, middle-aged group that supports most of the policy positions of the national Democratic party.

New Dealers: New Dealers are older Democrats who experience little financial pressure and are more socially conservative than the national Democratic Party. Drawn heavily from the South, many of these old-time Democrats have party roots that go back to Roosevelt. Despite the end of the Cold War, New Dealers still universally agree that the best way to insure peace is through military strength (96%[5]).

Pocketbook Democrats: Pocketbook Dems overwhelmingly agree that they don't have enough money to make ends meet (98%). They are very concerned with social justice, and they believe that government should take an active role in the solution of the socio-economic problems that plague them. One-third of Pocketbook Dems are minorities (32%), and many have less than a high school education.

There are three typology groups that are basically Independent:

Seculars: Seculars lean to the Democratic party, but some identify more closely with the GOP on certain issues. They are strongly supportive of personal freedoms. Seculars are well-informed, relatively affluent, and more often found on the East and West coasts. Their defining characteristic is an almost total lack of religious conviction. While 87% of the rest of the public says that prayer is an important part of their daily life, only one in ten (12%) Seculars hold this view. Their support for personal freedoms is best reflected in their feelings about censorship: 97% disagree with banning books containing dangerous ideas from public school libraries, compared with 48% of other Americans.

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[5] Based on combined survey results from November 1991 and January 1992.

Two of the Independent groups lean to the Republican party:

Disaffecteds: Disaffecteds are personally alienated, financially pressured and deeply skeptical of politicians. This middle-aged, lower-middle income group contains many blue collar workers. Disaffecteds are nearly twice as likely as others to agree that hard work offers little guarantee of success (69% vs. 36%). Their political distrust is such that three-quarters (77%) disagree that elected officials care what people like them think.

Upbeats: Upbeats are also independents who lean to the GOP, but their attitudinal profile is almost the opposite of Disaffecteds. Upbeats are primarily young people who tend to be uncritical of government and other institutions. They also have American Exceptionalist values: 88% of Upbeats agree that Americans can always solve their problems, while only 55% of others agree.

Finally, there is one typology group that is by definition apolitical:

Bystanders: Bystanders have an almost total lack of interest in politics and public affairs. This urban, lower socio-economic group contains many young singles. Forty-six percent of Bystanders say they seldom vote.

The table below shows the percentage of the survey respondents in each typology group for this survey.

	PERCENT
Enterprisers	15
Moralists	13
Upbeats	10
Disaffecteds	15
Bystanders/Other	8
Seculars	9
60's Democrats	7
New Dealers	4
Pocketbook Dems.	19

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
NATIONAL POLITICAL SURVEY #12
RE-INTERVIEW SURVEY
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS
October 20-22, 1992
N=1153

INTRODUCTION: Hello, we are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of AGE/SEX of respondent. It will only be a few questions to follow up to the interview we did a week ago or so.

MY FIRST QUESTION IS:

Q.9 I'd like you to rate your chance of voting in November on a scale of 10 to 1. If 10 represents a person who definitely will vote and 1 represents a person who definitely will not vote, where on this scale of 10 to 1 would you place yourself?

	Re-Interview	Gallup Oct 21-23 1988
1 - 6	3	7
7	2	3
8	3	7
9	3	8
10 - Will definitely vote	88	73
Don't know	1	2
	100	100
	1153	1232

ASK ALL:

Q.14 As I read from a list, tell me which ONE of the following eight items is the most important thing for the next President to do as soon as he takes office? **(READ LIST)**

Q.14a Which should be his second highest priority?

	RE-INTERVIEW	
	First Priority	Second Priority
Help the Russians convert to a market economy	1	2
Reduce the federal budget deficit	40	19
Stop the war in Yugoslavia	1	1
Reduce unemployment	31	29
Control health care costs	14	24
Reform the educational system	6	14
Making sure that the spread of nuclear weapons is controlled	1	3
Protect the environment	3	5
Other/None/Don't know	3	4
	100	100

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.16 Thinking about your own situation, compared to 4 years ago, would you say that you are better off financially today or worse off financially today?

	Re-Interview	Jan[6] 1992	Nov 1991	May[7] 1987
Better off	36	45	39	47
Worse off	42	41	44	20
Same **(VOL)**	21	13	16	32
Don't know **(VOL)**	1	1	1	1
	100	100	100	100
	1153	1220	1651	3405

Q.15 What's your impression of the news about the economy lately? Does it sound like the economy is improving, getting worse or staying about the same?

	Re-Interview
Improving	12
Getting worse	38
Staying about same	49
Not sure	1
	100

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[6] Not based on registered voters.

[7] In 1987 the question was asked, "Compared to five years ago, would you say you are better off financially, worse off financially or about the same?"

Q.17 Were the televised debates helpful to you in deciding who to vote for or not, or didn't you happen to watch the debates?

	Re-Interview
Yes	61
No	30
Didn't watch the debates	7
Don't know	2
	100

Q.18 Which format did you most prefer when the candidates were questioned by reporters, when the candidates were questioned by voters or when there was a single moderator with no other questioners?

	Re-Interview
Reporters	14
Voters	46
Single moderator	28
All the same, No difference	5
Don't know	7
	100

Q.19 Have you happened to see any of Ross Perot's half hour commercials or not?

	Re-Interview
Yes	59
No	41
Don't know	0
	100

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN Q.19 ASK:

Q.20 Did you feel you learned something from these commercials or not?

	Re-Interview
Yes	72
No	27
Don't know	1
	100
	673

Q.21 Did they make you more likely to vote for Perot or not?

	Re-Interview
Yes	40
No	57
Don't know	3
	100
	673

Q.25 Regardless of who you support, which one of the three Presidential candidates do you think would do the best job of: **(ROTATE)**

	George Bush	Bill Clinton	Ross Perot	No Difference	Can't Say
a. Improving economic conditions					
Re-interview	24	38	30	2	6=100
October 8-11, 1992	26	41	16	5	12=100
b. Making wise decisions about foreign policy					
Re-interview	57	26	9	2	6=100
October 8-11, 1992	53	27	6	3	11=100
c. Representing your views about abortion					
Re-interview	33	43	9	3	12=100
October 8-11, 1992	31	41	4	4	20=100
d. Protecting the environment					
Re-interview	23	53	8	5	11=100
October 8-11, 1992	24	50	5	6	16=100
f. Protecting American jobs from foreign competition					
Re-interview	15	33	43	2	7=100
October 8-11, 1992	21	41	19	5	14=100
g. Improving education					
Re-interview	24	47	19	4	6=100
October 8-11, 1992	28	46	9	5	12=100
h. Reducing the budget deficit					
Re-interview	16	27	47	4	6=100
October 8-11, 1992	19	30	29	9	13=100
i. Not increasing taxes					
Re-interview	41	22	11	17	9=100
October 8-11, 1992	35	25	8	16	16=100
j. Getting things done in Washington					
Re-interview	24	37	28	4	7=100
October 8-11, 1992	27	39	14	6	14=100
k. Representing your views on family values and sexual issues					
Re-interview	38	38	14	3	7=100
October 8-11, 1992	37	38	7	5	13=100

Q.25 Regardless of who you support, which one of the three Presidential candidates do you think would do the best job of: **(ROTATE)**

	George Bush	Bill Clinton	Ross Perot	No Difference	Can't Say
l. Keeping America out of war					
Re-interview	37	38	11	6	8=100
October 8-11, 1992	29	39	7	8	17=100
m. Reducing the cost of health care					
Re-interview	19	49	18	5	9=100
October 8-11, 1992	18	48	8	8	18=100
n. Reducing crime					
Re-interview	25	35	16	11	13=100
October 8-11, 1992	27	31	9	11	22=100
o. Improving conditions for people living in inner cities					
Re-interview	18	52	15	5	10=100
October 8-11, 1992	18	50	7	7	18=100

Q.26p There's been a lot of debate in this campaign about a free trade agreement between the U.S., Mexico and Canada. What's your opinion, do you think this agreement will lead to more jobs being created in the U.S., OR will it lead to more jobs leaving the U.S., OR haven't you heard about this agreement?

	Re-Interview
Job creation	20
Jobs leaving	47
Not sure	17
Had not heard	16
	100

Q.27 Regardless of who you support, who do you think will be elected President in November, George Bush, Bill Clinton or Ross Perot?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' BUSH '2' CLINTON OR '3' PEROT IN Q.27 ASK:

Q.28 Do you think it will be a close race or will **(EXPECTED WINNER)** win by quite a lot?

	Re-Interview	Oct 8-11
George Bush	21	30
Close	20	
Win by a lot	1	
Don't know	*	
Bill Clinton	71	61
Close	49	
Win by a lot	20	
Don't know	2	
Ross Perot	2	1
Close	2	
Win by a lot	*	
Don't know	0	
Don't know - **GO TO Q.29**	6	8
	100	100

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '3' PEROT/STOCKDALE IN Q.3 OR Q.5 ASK Q.29: ELSE, GO TO Q.32b

Q.29 If by election day it looks as if Ross Perot cannot possibly win the election, will you change your mind and vote for one of the other candidates or will you vote for Perot in any case?

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN Q.29 ASK:

Q.30 For whom would you most likely vote, George Bush or Bill Clinton?

	Re-Interview
Yes, change mind	22
George Bush	12
Bill Clinton	10
No, stay with Perot	68
Won't vote (VOL)	1
Can't say	9
	100
	206

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '2' NO OR '3' WON'T VOTE OR '4' CAN'T SAY IN Q.29 ASK FORM 1:

Q.31 Would you still vote for Perot if the election seemed close and Bush might win, or would you change your mind and vote for Clinton?

	Re-Interview
Stay with Perot	83
Vote for Clinton	11
Not sure	6
	100
	80

FORM 2

Q.32 Would you still vote for Perot if the election seemed close and Clinton might win, or would you change your mind and vote for Bush?

	Re-Interview
Stay with Perot	82
Vote for Bush	9
Not sure	9
	100
	83

ASK ALL:

Q.32b Do you think that Bill Clinton can pay for the new government programs he proposed without increasing taxes on the middle class, or do you think he will have to increase taxes on the middle class to afford these programs if he is elected?

	Re-Interview
Do without raising taxes	17
Must raise taxes	78
Not sure	5
	100

Q.32c Do you think that President Bush can cut taxes and still reduce the federal budget deficit, or don't you think so?

	Re-Interview
Yes, can reduce deficit	14
No, cannot reduce deficit	83
Don't know	3
	100

Q.33 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **(INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM.)**

	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
IF NOT A PEROT SUPPORTER IN Q.3 OR Q5 ASK:					
a. I like Ross Perot's ideas but don't feel I can vote for him					
Re-interview	27	49	14	9	1=100 947
IF A CLINTON SUPPORTER IN Q.3 OR Q.5 ASK:					
b. I am still a little unsure about Bill Clinton's character					
Re-interview	8	27	28	36	1=100 512
c. I am surprised by how committed I am to voting for Bill Clinton					
Re-interview	23	31	22	22	2=100 512
ASK ALL - ROTATE D-H					
d. I don't think any of the candidates will be able to fix the economy					
Re-interview	16	32	35	15	2=100
e. I am tired of the election campaign					
Re-interview	41	27	20	11	1=100
f. Ross Perot has brought increased attention to the issues					
Re-interview	53	36	7	3	1=100
g. I like the idea that both Clinton and Gore are young candidates					
Re-interview	30	33	21	12	4=100
h. Bill Clinton stands for different ideas than Democratic candidates in the past					
Re-interview	14	36	30	14	6=100

Q.34 Now a last few questions about presidential election campaign news stories. How closely have you followed news about...
READ RESPONSE CATEGORIES AFTER EACH ITEM: (ROTATE)

	Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK
a. Republican charges that Clinton took part in anti-war demonstrations while he was a student at Oxford and visitied the Soviet Union					
Re-interview	34	35	20	10	1=100
b. Democratic charges that the Bush administration was involved in a cover up about loans that were made to Iraq before the Gulf War					
Re-interview	31	38	22	8	1=100
c. Republican charges that Bill Clinton doesn't have the character and integrity to be President					
Re-interview	36	37	18	8	1=100

CP7-5-4.23-E

Times Mirror
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NEWS

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

The People, The Press & Politics

Campaign '92:

Air Wars IV

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...But Voter Sentiment Changes Little Over The Week

VOTERS STILL PAYING MORE ATTENTION TO PEROT

Through the month of October, ***Times Mirror*** has asked nationwide samples of voters which candidate they have heard the most about in the media and whether they had developed a more favorable or less favorable opinion of the candidates "in the past few days." All the mentions of candidates in this series of questions are volunteered by respondents. They are not solicited by survey interviewers.

Despite his slippage in some candidate standing polls in recent days, Ross Perot continues to command more voter attention than George Bush and Bill Clinton during the last full week of ***"Campaign 92"***. At week's end, 39% of voters said they had heard the most about Perot in the news media, 26% named Clinton, and only 22% named George Bush.

The Times Mirror surveys find little evidence that voters are dramatically changing their views of the candidates. But more people, on balance, are developing unfavorable rather than favorable opinions of ***all three*** candidates as the campaign enters its closing days.

Since his appearance on CBS' ***60 MINUTES*** on October 25, Ross Perot's ratio of unfavorable to favorable opinions has increased significantly more than Bush or Clinton's. However, there is no indication that over the past week Bush or Clinton have managed to achieve any distinct advantage in changing voters' minds to the advantage of either candidate.

CANDIDATE AWARENESS & FAVORABILITY

	Final Days		
	Fri-Sun Oct. 23-25	Mon-Tues Oct. 26-27	Wed-Thur Oct. 28-29
	%	%	%
Number of Interviews	(531)	(251)	(484)
Candidate Heard Most About[1]:			
Bush	20	15	22
Clinton	33	25	26
Perot	31	43	39
None/Other/DK	16	17	13
	100	100	100
More Favorable Opinion[2]:			
Yes	27	21	22
Bush	6	5	5
Clinton	6	7	5
Perot	14	9	10
No/DK	73	79	78
	100	100	100
Less Favorable Opinion[3]:			
Yes	40	48	52
Bush	18	19	15
Clinton	16	8	13
Perot	5	19	23
No/DK	60	52	48
	100	100	100

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[1] Q.1 Apart from whom you support, which presidential candidate have you heard the most about in the last week or so in newspapers, on tv or on radio?

[2] Q.2 In the past few days, have you come to have a **more favorable** opinion of any of the candidates or haven't your opinions of the candidates changed lately?

Q.2a Which candidate do you have a more favorable opinion of?

[3] Q.3 In the past few days, have you come to have a **less favorable** opinion of any of the candidates, or not?

Q.3a Which candidate do you have a less favorable opinion of?

SUMMARY TABLE

	Perot Returns	Debate 1	Debates 2 & 3	Final Days		
	Fri-Tues	Fri-Tues	Wed-Sun	Fri-Sun	Mon-Tues	Wed-Thur
	October 2-6	October 9-13	October 14-18	October 23-25	October 26-27	October 28-29
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Candidate Heard Most About Lately:						
Bush	18	16	14	20	15	22
Clinton	33	37	39	33	25	26
Perot	33	31	28	31	43	39
Other/none	16	16	19	16	17	13
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Opinion More Favorable of a Candidate Past Few Days?						
YES	14	21	32	27	21	22
Bush	3	3	5	6	5	5
Clinton	9	8	17	6	7	5
Perot	1	9	9	14	9	10
NO	86	79	86	73	79	78
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Less Favorable of a Candidate Past Few Days?						
YES	40	41	49	40	48	52
Bush	12	18	24	18	19	15
Clinton	9	12	14	16	8	13
Perot	17	9	9	5	19	23
NO	60	59	51	60	52	48
	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(802)	(826)	(796)	(531)	(251)	(484)

Survey Methodology

The survey results are based on telephone interviews of 531 registered voters, 251 registered voters, and 484 registered voters from a nationwide survey of adults 18 years and older conducted October 23-25, 26-27 and 28-29, 1992, respectively.

For results based on a sample of 800 registered voters, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 4 percentage points; for a sample of 500 registered voters, the margin of error is plus or minus 5 percentage points and for a sample of 250 registered voters, the margin of error is plus or minus 7 percentage points. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.